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ABSTRACT

Responses were sought to the following questions: (1) Are there differences between self concepts of disadvantaged and nondisadvantaged students? (2) Do these differences, if any, occur within and/or among different types of communities? A total of 373 students were selected from Maine communities designated "rural depressed," "rural nondepressed," "affluent suburban," and "typical urban." The Tennessee Self Concept Scale and an Individual Data Sheet were administered. Each subject was categorized from the data as "disadvantaged" or "nondisadvantaged," and also according to community status, sex and grade level. Factorial analysis of variance revealed that the disadvantaged feel less adequate in social interaction than did the nondisadvantaged. On seven other aspects of self concept no class differences existed. "Rural depressed" subjects had a more positive self concept than "affluent suburban." The disadvantaged "rural nondepressed" experienced the greatest negative self concept. In general, it is very difficult to generalize on self concepts of the disadvantaged, and suggestions for further research include the need to treat the group as heterogeneous rather than homogeneous. (CJ)

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DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SELF-CONCEPTS OF DISADVANTAGED AND NON-DISADVANTAGED HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS WITHIN CERTAIN TYPES OF RURAL AND URBAN COMMUNITIES

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September 1969

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF
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September 1969

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DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SELF-CONCEPTS OF DISADVANTAGED AND NON-DISADVANTAGED HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS WITHIN CERTAIN TYPES OF RURAL AND URBAN COMMUNITIES

By Keith E. Cook

Thesis Advisor: Alpheus Sanford, Ed.D.

An Abstract of the Thesis Presented in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Education
August, 1969

This study was designed to test the proposition that the self-concepts of disadvantaged adolescents would be differentially affected, from community to community, according to the social and economic characteristics of the communities in which they reside. The Tennessee Self Concept Scale was administered to disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged high school students in rural depressed, rural non-depressed, affluent suburban, and typical urban communities. Factorial analysis of variance revealed the following differences:

1. Except for one aspect of self-concept, the disadvantaged students perceived themselves in as positive a way as did the non-disadvantaged; however, the disadvantaged were more defensive, confused, conflicted, and uncertain in their self-reports.

2. Subjects in the rural depressed community had more positive self-concepts than those in the affluent suburb. The data suggested that these more positive self-concepts were maintained through the use of more defensiveness.

3. In the community which had the greatest social and economic

extremes (rural non-depressed), the negative impact upon the self-concepts of the disadvantaged was the greatest.

4. Within the communities which were more homogeneously composed of either low- or high-income families, the self-concepts of the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged were more alike than were the self-concepts of:

(a) the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged collectively across all communities.

(b) students grouped solely by community of residence and compared with each other.

5. There were as many self-concept differences among the groups of disadvantaged students as there were between the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged students.

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A special note of thanks goes to Mrs. Joyce Schneider, who assisted with technical aspects of preparing the dissertation, and who typed much of the initial and final drafts. My thanks also to Miss Judy Cote and Mrs. Barbara Corley who assisted with the typing of the drafts.

While they must remain anonymous to preserve the privacy of the schools and communities in which this research was conducted, I

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[1] The work presented or reported herein was performed pursuant to a Grant from the U. S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. However, the opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the U. S. Office of Education, and no official endorsement by the U. S. Office of Education should be inferred.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

I. INTRODUCTION, THE PROBLEM, AND DEFINITION OF TERMS . 16

Introduction. 16

The problems of poverty in historical perspective 16

The Problem 27

The specific problem investigated. 27

Rationale and design of the study. 27

Definition of Terms 33

Self-concept 33

Disadvantaged. 35

Non-disadvantaged. 37

Rural depressed community. 37

Rural non-depressed community. 37

Affluent suburban community. 38

Typical urban community. 38

Summary of the Chapter. 39

Organization of the Remainder of the Dissertation 40

II. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE 42

Introduction. 42

The Characteristics and the Identification of Disadvantaged Youth. 42

Characteristics of disadvantaged youth 46

Identification of disadvantaged youth. 51

The Nature of the Self-Concept. 55

Formation and change of the self-concept . . . 58

CHAPTER PAGE

Self-concept as a determinant of behavior. . . 63

The Nature and Importance of the Self-Concepts of Disadvantaged Youth 67

Nature of self-concepts of disadvantaged youth 67

Importance of self-concepts of disadvantaged youth 74

The Relationship of the Self-Concept to Sex and Race 75

Sex differences and the self-concept 75

Race and the self-concept. 77

Need for the Study. 79

The Literature Related to Instruments and Techniques Used. 81

Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS). 82

Two Factor Index of Social Position. 86

Summary of the Chapter. 88

III. THE PLAN OF THE STUDY. 89

The Problem Studied 89

The Population Studied. 89

Selection and classification of communities. . 89

Description of communities 94

Selection of subjects. 97

Data Gathering Procedures and Instrumentation . . 98

The Classification of Students. 102

Hypotheses. 106

IV. ANALYSIS OF THE DATA 108

CHAPTER PAGE

Data Available for Analysis 108

Statistical Techniques Used 108

Specific Findings Resulting from Statistical Treatment. 111

TSCS row scores. 111

TSCS column scores 116

TSCS total positive. 124

Defensiveness. 126

Response set 130

Conflict 132

Inconsistency. 137

Certainty. .141

TSCS empirical scales. 150

Community Type: General Findings 160

Social Class: General Findings 164

Interaction of Social Class and Community Type: General Findings 179

Sex: General Findings. 184

Grade in School: General Findings. 184

Summary of the Chapter. 187

V. DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS OF THE STUDY 191

Assumptions and Limitations of the Study. 191

Assumptions. 191

Limitations. 191

Interpretation of the Findings. 193

Implications of the Study 205

CHAPTER PAGE

Summary of the Chapter. 207

VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS. 209

The Purpose of the Study. 209

The Procedures of the Study 210

Summary of the Findings and Conclusions 211

Suggestions for Further Research. 214

REFERENCES 216

APPENDIX A 228

APPENDIX B 233

APPENDIX C 235

APPENDIX D 238

APPENDIX E 268

APPENDIX F 271

BIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITER. 291

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE PAGE

1. Kruskal-Wallis One-Way Analysis of Variance for 17 Communities. 91
2. Kruskal-Wallis One-Way Analysis of Variance for 7 Communities 93
3. Meanings of ISP Occupation and Education Categories.104
4. Classification and Sizes of Samples by Community . .105
5. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Identity Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 112
6. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Self Satisfaction Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 113
7. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Behavior Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 114
8. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Physical Self Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 117
9. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Moral-Ethical Self Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects

TABLE PAGE

Within Four Types of Communities. 118

10. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Personal Self Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 119

11. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Family Self Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 120

12. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Social Self Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 121

13. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Total Positive Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 125

14. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Self Criticism Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 127

15. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Defensive Positive Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 128

16. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range

TABLE PAGE

Test Results of True-False Ratio Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 131

17. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Net Conflict Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 134

18. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Total Conflict Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 135

19. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Total Variability Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 138

20. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Column Variability Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 139

21. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Row Variability Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 140

22. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Distribution Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects

TABLE PAGE

Within Four Types of Communities. 143

23. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Distribution of Fives Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 144

24. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Distribution of Fours Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 145

25. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Distribution of Threes Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 146

26. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Distribution of Twos Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 147

27. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Distribution of Ones Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 148

28. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of General Maladjustment Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 151

29. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range

TABLE PAGE

Test Results of Psychosis Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 153

30. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Personality Disorder Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 154

31. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Neurosis Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 156

32. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Personality Integration Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 157

33. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Number of Deviant Signs Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities. 159

34. TSCS Subscales on Which at Least Two Communities Differed Significantly. 161

35. Mean Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Students on Tennessee Self Concept Scale Across All Communities 165

36. Two-Way Analysis of Variance for Correlated Groups and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Row

TABLE PAGE

Scores of Disadvantaged Subjects. 168

37. Two-Way Analysis of Variance for Correlated Groups and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Row Scores of Non-Disadvantaged Subjects. 169

38. Two-Way Analysis of Variance for Correlated Groups and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Column Scores of Disadvantaged Subjects 170

39. Two-Way Analysis of Variance for Correlated Groups and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Column Scores of Non-Disadvantaged Subjects . . .171

40. Analysis of Variance on Identity Scores of Disadvantaged Subjects in Education Classes Six and Seven, and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects in Education Classes One, Two, Three, and Four . . .175

41. Analysis of Variance on Self Satisfaction Scores of Disadvantaged Subjects in Education Classes Six and Seven, and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects in Education Classes One, Two, Three, and Four . . .176

42. Analysis of Variance on Behavior Scores of Disadvantaged Subjects in Education Classes Six and Seven, and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects in Education Classes One, Two, Three, and Four . . .177

43. Means and Standard Deviations of Identity, Self Satisfaction, and Behavior Scores of Disadvantaged Subjects in Education Classes Six and Seven, and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects in

TABLE PAGE

Education Classes One, Two, Three, and Four . . . 178

44. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Total Positive Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged, Male and Female Subjects 185

45. Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Total Positive Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Three School Grades. 186

46. Action Taken on Hypotheses in Consequence of Statistical Analyses. 190

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE PAGE

1. Profiles of Tennessee Self Concept Scale Means for Four Communities. 162
2. Profiles of Tennessee Self Concept Scale Means for Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Groups. . . .166
3. Family Income Profiles for Four Communities 203

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION, THE PROBLEM, AND DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

Introduction

The meaning of the specific problem investigated in this study is enhanced when considered in the historical context of the problems of poverty. Hence, this introduction provides an overview of the antecedents of contemporary poverty in the United States. The reader who wishes direct access to the specific problem studied is referred to the following section headed "The Problem".

The problems of poverty in historical perspective.

The problems associated with living in poverty or on a minimum subsistence level are by no means unknown phenomena in the United States. Though not of recent origin, the problems of poverty have changed in the last century in terms of context (the relationship of the poor to the larger society), and in terms of the attitudes of society towards the poverty-stricken.

A summary by Handlin (1966) clearly indicates the nature and causation of these changes. He states that prior to and during the 1800's the common view was that since individual abilities differed, the distribution of wealth would also differ. Each household was seen as a self-contained economic unit which should be capable of supporting its members. Thus, only orphans and aged persons without children to assist in caring for them were accepted as needing assistance. In such cases, the preference of the day was to place these persons in existing households whenever possible. In this manner, the social problems of poverty were easily rationalized and dispensed with.

With the increasing industrialization of the 1860's, Handlin continues, a constant supply of factory workers was assured by a pool of surplus labor existing on a marginal level. In this sense, poverty had social utility with the result that by the 1890's a large percentage of the labor force lived so close to destitution that fluctuations in employment plunged these families into economic crisis. Consequently many of these people survived at only a bare subsistence level. With its primary concern that of avoiding dependency, society still refused to accept responsibility for such people. The only direct assistance came through a few meager charitable attempts.

Concern for persons living in poverty was not, however, completely nonexistent during this era following the Civil War. For example, the Freedman's Bureau provided indirect assistance by concerning itself with the development of educational facilities for former slaves. Furthermore, poor whites and freed Negroes were represented in state legislatures which established free public education for their children in states where it previously had been nonexistent. Efforts such as these, however, did become markedly curtailed with the election of Rutherford B. Hayes and the end of the Reconstruction era (Gordon & Wilkerson, 1966, pp. 2-6).

By the turn of the century, the need of increasing numbers of people for an established plan of assistance was still largely unrecognized by society. State and local involvement had increased, but was primarily in terms of providing relief on a limited scale during periods of depression. No one viewed this large segment of the population, living virtually on the edge of starvation, as cause for massive, immediate action. Failure to take advantage of opportunities in "the land of opportunity" was simply regarded as a personal and, by some, a congenital defect. The main thrust of remedial efforts was to call on the individual to improve himself through his own volition. The only other alternatives were to continue his life in poverty or enter a workhouse or almshouse--the latter being tantamount to destruction of the family (Handlin, 1966).

An important influence at the turn of the century in changing the prevalent societal conceptualizations of and attitudes toward poverty was a book by Robert Hunter (1904). He emphatically stated the seriousness of a situation where more than ten million people fell below his economic definition of poverty--an annual salary of $460 in the North and $300 in the rural South. It was his contention that the poverty of these ten million people was not strictly the result of a lack of individual initiative, but was frequently socially determined through presenting obstacles insurmountable by even the most determined person. Moreover, he developed the notion that poverty was self-perpetuating from generation to generation.

The problems of the poor received increasing recognition and concern during the thirty years following publication of Hunter's book (Handlin, 1966). A notable consequence was the development of professional social workers to render assistance to the poverty-stricken. Nevertheless, some of the old assumptions were perpetuated. Many people still clung to the notion that the existence of economic inadequacy was inevitable in a system where goods were scarce and mobility dependent upon individual initiative. This prevalent assumption was dealt a crushing blow by the Great Depression of the early 1930's. The large increase in economic privation demonstrated dramatically to the American people that poverty was related to the economic system, and was not simply the lot of those falling behind in an economic race. Rather, poverty was a potential threat which might overwhelm anyone.

Following the Depression, the New Deal represented the first program of large magnitude attempting to deal with the social and economic problems of poverty. In spite of the sensitivity of the New Deal to the needs of the times, the concepts of full employment and a universal adequate minimum income did not become prevalent until World War II (Handlin, 1966).

In more recent decades certain other factors have further amplified the societal concern for the economically deprived segment of the populace. Goldberg (1963, p. 77) indicates that one such influence has been the changing nature of urban populations resulting from an out-migration of the middle-class and an in-migration of low-income groups. A result of this middle-class exodus to the suburbs has been to increasingly relegate many major cities to being the residence of the poor, with all of the concomitant landlord neglect, physical deterioration of buildings, and increases in crime and welfare rolls (Glazer & Creedon, 1968, p. 2).

A further analysis reveals compounding of the problems of the cities by an in-migration of rural poor.

> Many of our most acute problems reflect the transfer of the rural population, white and Negro, from the low-income farm areas of the Southeast into the large urban centers. We are suddenly becoming aware of a two-generation gap between the education and skills of the new migrants and those of the settled urban population (Ginzberg, 1967, p. 130).

Swanstrom (1967, p. 91) provides statistical evidence indicating the magnitude of this migration. Of the young people who were sixteen to twenty-one years of age in February of 1963, and who were not in school and not college graduates, approximately 40% of the males and 60% of the females who had been farm residents in their last semester of school had moved to non-farm areas. The proportions for this farm to non-farm shift are about the same for both high school graduates and dropouts. Furthermore, McQueen (1965) notes that 61% of the United States population presently live in cities, with projections of 70 to 75% residing therein by 1980. The relevance of these statistics with respect to low-income groups becomes apparent when considering the further projection of 50 to 60% of all people in the large northern cities being disadvantaged by 1970. Therefore, as indicated by the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty (1967), urban and rural poverty are closely linked through migration to the city for jobs and a decent living. However, it is frequently the case that conditions in the urban slum are worse than those in the rural slum which was left behind.

The fact that the rural poor do move to the city, and have every right to be there, lays the foundation for much of the ferment and unrest in many large urban areas (Ravitz, 1963, pp. 10-14). In addition to frequent personal disillusionment, the failure to provide for the assimilation of rural people into the pre-existing urban culture leads to conflict in values, attitudes, mores, and beliefs. In this sense, the roots of the urban riots lie, to a considerable extent, in rural poverty (President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, 1967). Without implying, in any sense, a need for cultural homogeneity, Ravitz (1963) has cogently stated the case in the following principle.

> An adequately integrated community cannot continue to exist with both large numbers of lower class, rural people and large numbers of middle class, urban people. Either one group or the other will have to try to assimilate the other, or one of them will solve the situation created by withdrawal (p. 14).

Disillusionment and frustration, spawning despair and hostility, are further provoked in the rural poor in-migrants by unemployability in an increasingly automated, industrial society (Edgecomb, 1967, pp. 469-471; McQueen, 1965). The decreased demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labor has, in fact, led to the unenviable co-existence of a skilled manpower shortage and unemployment (Edgecomb, 1967, p. 469; Goldberg, 1963, p. 77). A reason for the present seriousness of this situation is discussed by Wayland (1963, p. 66), Gordon and Wilkerson (1966, pp. 2-6), and Orshansky (1967, pp. 82-84). In the past we have assimilated immigrant groups and built a large middle-class, with high educational attainment, in a relatively short period of time. Even though large numbers of immigrant children lacked necessary background experiences to meet the traditional demands of the school, the consequences for young people and for society were far less serious than today. In the industrializing economy of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the social structure could absorb the school's failures. There was a real need for simple manual strength and skill, in contrast to the present automating economy which needs "trained minds, educated judgements, and conceptual skills (Gordon & Wilkerson, 1966, p. 6)." Moreover, there were fewer highly educated people with whom to compete, thus enabling even the untrained worker to find a job and improve his earnings through promotions. Generally speaking, therefore, the current situation is such that "earlier norms are now considered deviations (Wayland, 1963, p. 66)." The problems of poverty are not so much due to societal deficiencies and inadequacies of the past as to successes and the resulting aspirations for the future. Hence, the new dimensions of the problem are the new standards which have evolved.

These new standards are primarily reflected in two very much related factors. The first is the recently achieved status of a society where the majority of young parents have a high school education, and a significant number have some post-high school training (Wayland, 1963, p. 66). The other factor is economic abundance such that "never before in history has such a large proportion of a population enjoyed such a high standard of living (Glazer & Creedon, 1968, p. 2)." The result is that in the United States poverty exists within the midst of affluence as the exceptional condition rather than the rule. As such, the reasons for poverty, societal attitudes toward the poor, the attitudes of the poor toward themselves, and the nature of programs designed to ameliorate the problem are very different from those in a country that is poor and relatively undeveloped. In fact, the very definition of poverty must be different (Fishman, 1966, p. x-xi). Orshansky (1967, p. 61) enlarges upon this notion by explaining that the standards for the cost of a minimal level of living change as the general level of living rises above that of the basic necessities.

This line of thought, however, may only partially conceptualize the problems associated with the coexistence of economically impoverished and economically privileged peoples. The divergences between the poor and the non-poor may be more evident within a relatively more prosperous nation as contrasted with one which is more destitute, but such internal contrasts become reduced in significance when national boundaries are neglected in deference to an international Gestalt. Mooney (1967) has captured the essence of such a perceptual mode in the following manner:

> The "have-nots", with their exploding awareness and their exploding populations, carry dynamite; the "haves", with exploding knowledge and final power for total destruction carry the nuclear bombs. We walk the shrinking earth together, seeking peace, and playing games with death.
>
> We who, in America, face the problems of the culturally deprived, are therefore facing, in laboratory sample, the problems of the people of the world. What is presented to us here as a yet modulated phenomenon is, in the world, a stark phenomenon. What is yet amenable to us as something comprehensible is something that must come to be comprehensible on a world scale. The intelligence we seek on this problem is not alone intelligence for guiding ourselves in the concretions we face here, but intelligence sought for the leadership of peoples not present here (p. 2).

Ravitz (1963, pp. 10-14) draws five parallels between persons in underdeveloped countries and rural in-migrants to American cities. He observes (a) the essentially rural character of both, (b) the generally low levels of formal schooling, (c) the pride in their cultural tradition and resentment of condescension, (d) their willingness to learn when taught on their own terms, and (e) the expense and difficulty involved in helping either people modify their values, attitudes, and behavior.

Summarily, then, in spite of the respective differences between the poverty problems of individual nations, there do exist some very pervasive international parallels. Furthermore, concern for the plight of the deprived, both in the United States and abroad, may revolve around threat to personal survival or other more humanistic, altruistic, or political postures (Glazer & Creedon, 1968, p. 2).

Current social crises, involving the human rights of not only racial minorities but also the poverty-stricken, have further heightened public awareness and concern for those experiencing a marginal economic existence. Glazer and Creedon (1968, p. 2) point out that the civil rights movement has expanded the concept of equality through making it apparent that equality in law is dependent on equality in social conditions. Otherwise, freedom to take advantage of formal rights is not permitted. Extending this line of thought, Gordon and Wilkerson (1966, p. 20) observe the disadvantaged demanding total integration into the mainstream of society, and an opportunity to share in the wealth of the nation.

Though formal education has often been viewed as being the best single means of providing for integration of the disadvantaged into the mainstream of society (Gordon & Wilkerson, 1966), McQueen (1965) gives heed to the fact that one out of three youngsters in the United States today is educationally disadvantaged, in the sense of demonstrating an inability to profit from present educational programs. By 1970, this figure may well be one out of two. At least in part, this situation follows from a nation-wide elevation of the school-leaving-age, and the resulting retention of a larger number of students unmotivated to meet the demands of the school. Frequently these circumstances result in failure, frustration, behavior problems in school, and eventually dropping out (Edgecomb, 1967; Goldberg, 1963, p. 77). A further reason for such educational disadvantagement is indicated by Havighurst and Moorefield (1967, pp. 12-13). They cite evidence for the development of a "cumulative, cognitive deficit" between the first and fifth grades, indicating that children from lower-class homes are behind middle-class children in the first grade and fall increasingly farther behind as they grow older. Hence, either the school or the student or both must change in some significant way if formal education is to become a means of integrating the disadvantaged into the larger society, rather than alienating them from it. The failure of the schools to deal successfully with disadvantaged students, and the resulting need for change, represents still another reason for concern with economic impoverishment.

The course of events has not been such that poverty disappears through the dynamics of its own inner workings. In fact, poverty perpetuates poverty, and as such, produces another motive for concern with its existence. Though an adequate family income is not a sufficient condition to guarantee that children will escape becoming low-income adults, it is usually a necessary condition (Orshansky, 1967, p. 82). Burgess and Price (1963, p. 14) substantiate this thought with the finding that of a nationwide sample of families receiving Aid for Dependent Children, more than 40% of the mothers and/or fathers were raised in families who received some form of assistance at some time. In the United States population in general, less than 10% of the fathers and/or mothers were raised in families receiving such assistance.

Concern with the cyclical nature of poverty is amplified if the common assumption of inherent inequality between men is rejected. Boyer and Walsh (1968) have aptly stated the case in the following manner.

> In societies where power and privilege are not equally distributed, it has always been consoling to those with favored positions to assume that nature has caused the

> disparity. When man himself creates unequal opportunity, he can be obliged or even forced to change his social system. But if nature creates inequality, man need only bow to supreme forces beyond his control, and the less fortunate must resign themselves to their inevitable disadvantage (p. 61).

Currently, research evidence dealing with self-fulfilling prophecies has brought the tenuousness of the assumption of innate inequality to even closer scrutiny. After testing in a lower-class community, Rosenthal (1968) identified for their teachers certain students as being about ready to show a sudden significant increase in intellectual ability. Post-testing, after 4 and 8 months, demonstrated significantly higher gains in intellectual ability by the group identified as potential "spurters" than by the control group. In fact, both groups had been randomly selected from the same population such that the only differences between them were in the minds of the teachers. If, as suspected by Boyer and Walsh (1968), similar dynamics operate within other areas of the social system to predetermine the lives of disadvantaged persons, then society is further confronted with concern for its own hypocrisy; while holding a principle of equal opportunity, it is creating a reality of caste, disparity, and partiality.

In summary, the purpose of this introduction has been to place the current problems of poverty into historical perspective, to discuss the current ways of conceptualizing the problems, and to indicate reasons for concern with the existence of poverty. It is within this context that the specific problem for investigation is developed in the following section.

The Problem

The specific problem investigated. Lewis (1966) has proposed a four-dimensional system for characterizing, comprehending and studying poverty cultures. The dimensions of this system are (a) the relationship between the subculture and the larger society, (b) the nature of the slum community, (c) the nature of the family and (d) the individual's attitudes, character, and values. The current investigation focused on the first and last dimensions of the system by studying differences between the self-concepts of disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged high school students within and across four different types of communities. These community types were labelled as "typical urban", "affluent suburban", "rural non-depressed", and "rural depressed".

More specifically, the purpose of this study was to examine the rationale developed in the ensuing section by collecting data relevant to the following questions:

1. Are there differences between the self-concepts of disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged high school students?

2. Are there differences between the self-concepts of disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged high school students within and/or among the different types of communities?

3. If such differences do occur, what is their nature?

Rationale and design of the study. That poverty is of social concern is not so much due to the existence of poverty per se, but rather to its existence within a generally affluent society--a society in which the norms of the past are frequently the deviations of the present (Wayland, 1963, p. 66). Though some portion of the population has always lived in poverty, the differences between these persons and those who are more economically privileged have only in recent decades become so apparent (Schooling, 1967). It is not the appearance of such differences to the objective, external observer, but rather, as Merton (1968, pp. 9-15) suggests, the comparison the individual makes between his own situation and the situations of others which is crucial in determining the effects of such differences upon him.

Merton's notion is related to the psychological approach known as the "perceptual", the "personal", or the "phenomenological" --and approach which attempts to explain human behavior from the individual's own point of view. That is to say, "people behave as they do in consequence of how things seem to them (Combs & Snygg, 1959, p. 11)." This is otherwise stated by Combs and Snygg (1959) as a basic postulate of phenomenological psychology. "All behavior, without exception, is completely determined by and pertinent to the perceptual field of the behaving organism (p. 20)." Furthermore, perception is thought to be a function of the individual's needs, and since a fundamental need is to maintain and enhance the concept of self, perceptual content tends to be consistent with the individual's self-concept. Hence, the behavior of an individual is largely a manifestation of his concept of himself (Combs & Snygg, 1959).

The self-concept, however, is not a static phenomenon existing inherently from the moment of birth. It is, rather, of a developmental or process nature, formulated within the individual "as a result of interaction with the environment, and particularly as a result of evaluational interaction with others...(Rogers, 1951, p.

498)." Through such interaction with his physical and social environments, the individual receives feedback--particularly through the perceived behavior of others toward him. In this manner, he learns who and what he is, and in what senses to value himself (Combs & Snygg, 1959, pp. 134-144). Rainwater (1968, pp. 259-260) indicates that particularly with the young, the process is one of seeking a sense of being a particular person with a satisfactory fit between who he feels he is, who he announces himself to be, and where he feels society places him.

With respect to where society places the disadvantaged person, there is a strong concensus of professional opinion indicating his devaluation by the larger society (Deutsch, 1967; Edgecomb, 1967; Lewis, 1966; Willie, 1967). Such opinion supports the contention of Passow and Elliot (1967) that, in part, "the problems of the disadvantaged stem from...discontinuities with the 'dominant' culture rising out of differences in life style...(p. 21)." Research has documented the existence of such differences among social classes. In a survey of about 2500 adults and 500 young people, Hyman (1953) found that different social classes did not hold the same success values, regardless of whether the strata were defined by income, occupation, or the monthly rental value of the dwelling. More comprehensively, Tumin (1967) concluded that, by and large, research supports the following notions:

> Different strata do relate to the institutional patterns of their societies in somewhat different ways, view the world in somewhat different terms, raise their children in a distinctive fashion, worship and pray in variable ways, and differ at least somewhat in the range of practices, beliefs, and attitudes. We see that basic differences in

> property, power, and evaluation are consequential not only for the life-chances that can be purchased and secured, but also in the basic forms of feeling, believing, and acting (p. 80).

The results of such differences are enlarged upon in a paradigm developed by Hewitt (1967). He has indicated that within the social context, stratification emphasizes the allocation of prestige which takes place in the context of interaction controlled by persons supporting and applying the ideologies of prestige. Lower-status Americans find that their occupations, income, and education earn low prestige from those in higher strata. This is especially prevalent during the socialization process in middle-status dominated schools, where disadvantaged youth encounter threats to their self-concepts due to the application of this ideology. Deutsch (1960) recognized that a differential effect may be operating with respect to such an impact upon the self-concept. He suggested that the dominant cultural values impinging upon the individual become less meaningful and less effective as the individual's social frame of reference becomes more constricted and more distant from the mainstream of society.

Hence, within the social frame of reference of a community which is relatively homogeneously disadvantaged, the dominant values of the greater society may be less evident and consequently have a less negative impact upon the self-concept of the disadvantaged person. Even though the school may reflect the values of the larger society, the disadvantaged individual may turn to the community for support regarding the adequacy and acceptability of his attitudes and behavior. However, as the preponderance of non-disadvantaged persons increases in a community, and as the community norms for behavior, values, and attitudes become more dissimilar to those of the disadvantaged, the disadvantaged citizens may be increasingly confronted by these class differences. As a result, the negative influence upon their self-concepts may become correspondingly greater.

The translation of the foregoing rationale into a tenable research design was considered to be a crucial aspect of this investigation. Since variables seldom operate independently, but rather in concert with one another (Kerlinger, 1966, p. 213), and since the rationale of the study indicated the possibility of a differential relationship between social class and self-concept, a factorial design was employed. Such a design makes it possible to analyze "the independent and interactive effects of two or more independent variables on a dependent variable (Kerlinger, 1966, p. 213)." It has the additional advantage of permitting several hypotheses to be tested simultaneously.

This field study employed four independent assigned variables in the factorial design. These variables were as follows: (a) social class, (b) community type, (c) sex, (d) grade in school. Each of the latter three variables was studied as it operated independently and in interaction with social class upon the dependent variables, the various aspects of self-concept as measured by the _Tennessee Self Concept Scale_ (TSCS). Thus, three similar factorial designs were utilized, the primary focus being on the first set of factors--social class and community type. The factor of sex differences was included because, as indicated in Chapter II, the possible covarying of self-concept with sex constituted a potential confounding variable.

Further confounding was conceivable from progressive attrition of low self-concept students from school. Hence, the factor of "grade in school" was introduced into the study.

Each of the four independent variables was divided into two or more levels for investigative purposes. Social class was dichotomized into disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged groups. Community type consisted of four categories: (a) rural depressed, (b) rural non-depressed, (c) affluent suburban, (d) typical urban. The three levels of school grade were labelled accordingly 9, 10, and 11. Hence, the three basic factorial designs of this study were 4 X 2 (community type and social class), 2 X 2 (sex and social class), and 3 X 2 (grade in school and social class). As previously indicated, the primary focus of the study was on the 4 X 2 design (community type and social class). As such, this design was replicated 29 times--once for each of the 29 subscales on the TSCS, which constituted the dependent variables. The 2 X 2 and 3 X 2 designs were each used once, the dependent variable in each case being the Total Positive subscale on the TSCS--a measure of total or general self-concept.

Definitions of Terms

The definitions which follow are in no way intended to represent a comprehensive or exhaustive consideration of the variety of ways in which the terms have been used in other studies. Rather, these definitions were designed to reveal specifically the meanings attached to each term for the purposes of this investigation. Where appropriate, a broader and more detailed examination of terminology is included in the Review of the Literature or in another chapter as indicated.

Self-concept. As used in this investigation, the self-concept is an integral part of the perceptual or phenomenological approach to psychology. Within this approach, Combs and Snygg (1959) differentiate two primary aspects of self. They refer to the phenomenal self as "those aspects of the perceptual field to which we refer when we say 'I' or 'me' (p. 43)". Through the process of identification this may include aspects of the perceptual field entirely beyond the individual's physical being. Furthermore, according to Combs and Snygg (1959), the phenomenal self is a unique organization of all perceptions of self, regardless of their importance to the individual. It "is the self in a given situation (p. 127)."

A second aspect of self, composed of the most vital and important features of the self, is the self-concept. This differs constitutionally from the phenomenal self in that the self-concept embodies "those particular aspects of self which are such fundamental aspects of his phenomenal self that they seem to the individual to be 'he' in all times and at all places (Combs & Snygg, 1959,

p. 127)." The self-concept, therefore, is the very core of personality; it is the self no matter what the situation or event. It is the individual's generalized self existing at some level of awareness.

For the purposes of this investigation, the general self-concept was operationally defined as the score on the Total Positive subscale of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS) (Fitts, 1964a). In addition, this study focused on thirteen more specific aspects of self-concept. These aspects were operationally defined as the scores on particular subscales of the TSCS. Elaboration upon the specific combinations of subscales used and their meaning in terms of self-concept is reserved for Chapter III, as such discussion will be more comprehensible when presented within the context of a description of the total instrument. Suffice it to say, therefore, that in addition to general self-concept, the specific facets studied were as follows: defensiveness, response set, conflict, identity, self-satisfaction, behavior, physical self, moral-ethical self, personal self, family self, social self, inconsistency, and certainty.

The adequacy of such operational definitions, in terms of their fitting within some existing theoretical framework, is crucial to making interpretations and drawing implications from the data. Although a discussion of measurement problems related to the TSCS is not appropriate at this point, it is important to note that the theoretical orientation of the author of the instrument, W. H. Fitts, is essentially that of phenomenological self-theory (Fitts, 1965a). In his writing, he does not indicate any attempts to discriminate between phenomenal self and self-concept, but seems to use the term "self-concept" as being inclusive of, or synonymous with, phenomenal self (Fitts 1964b, 1965a, 1965b, 1967, 1968). Furthermore, there is nothing to indicate that the TSCS taps only phenomenal self or only self-concept. Hence, it is likely that both of these constructs, as previously defined by Combs and Snygg (1959), are being assessed by the instrument. To the extent that this is so, the operational definition of self-concept used in this study departs from the formal definition of Combs and Snygg.

Disadvantaged. Passow and Elliott (1967, p. 20) have clearly described the confusion which has been created by the use of multiple terms in referring ostensibly to the same population--namely that segment of society commonly referred to as "the disadvantaged". This not easily defined group has been variously referred to as being culturally deprived, socially disadvantaged, inner-city children, slum dwellers, minority pupils, ghetto youth, educationally deficient, in-migrants, undereducated, underachievers, and educationally retarded. These authors further caution that such terms as "culturally deprived" and "culturally disadvantaged" are misleading since they imply that if a group departs from the majority pattern it either has no culture or, at best, has an inferior one. Such implications, however, are destroyed by antithetical explications such as those by Mooney (1967) in stating that "the 'culturally privileged' are those who can participate in the course of progressive development; the 'culturally deprived' are those who cannot (p. 1)." In other words, "it is not that the 'deprived' lack a culture but rather that they lack a fitting into the progressively forming culture (p. 11)."

Thus, the culture of the disadvantaged is "'deprived' by our definition," Mooney continues, "since it does not fit the pattern of progression for a modern technological-system-society (p. 10)." It is this discontinuity with the dominant culture, which is a common theme woven through nearly all definitions of the culturally deprived and disadvantaged, which was considered to be of the utmost significance in formally defining "disadvantaged" in this investigation; the reason being the centrality of this notion to the previously structured rationale for the study.

In operational terms for this investigation, a disadvantaged high school student was defined as a student in grade 9, 10, or 11 who lived in a household the head of which met one of the following educational and occupational criteria as defined by the Two Factor Index of Social Position (ISP) (Hollingshead, 1957).

1. Head of the household had not been employed within the last three months, and the family received some financial assistance.

2. Head of the household had completed no more than grade 11 and had an unskilled occupation.

3. Head of the household had completed no more than grade 6 and had a semi-skilled occupation.

In short, the criteria for being classified as disadvantaged were either unemployment for more than three months and receiving financial assistance, or a score ranging from 69 to 77 inclusive on the ISP. For further information regarding the Two Factor Index of Social Position the reader is referred to Chapters II and III and Appendix A of this dissertation.

Non-disadvantaged. The use of the term "non-disadvantaged" in this study implies a dichotomization of the population on the basis of ISP scores. More specifically, a non-disadvantaged high school student was a student in grade 9, 10, or 11 living in a household the head of which did not meet the criteria for being classified "disadvantaged".

The particular term, "non-disadvantaged," was selected for use because it best connoted the classification criteria. Terms such as "middle class" tend to be more vulnerable to misinterpretation. Cole (1950), for example, notes the difficulties of determining the boundaries of the middle class and lists a dozen different groups under this term.

Rural depressed community. The rural depressed community in this investigation was a small Maine coastal community having a 1960 population of 2,537, and having a significantly lower median family income, a significantly lower percentage of families earning more than $10,000 per year, and a significantly higher percentage of families earning less than $3,000 per year than both the rural non-depressed and the affluent suburban communities used in this study.

Criteria for this definition were based on data from the United States Census of 1960 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1963). A more complete profile of the community is presented in Chapter III.

Rural non-depressed community. The rural non-depressed community in this study was a small inland Maine community having a 1960 population of 3,951, and meeting each of the following criteria: (a) a significantly higher median family income, a significantly higher percentage of families earning more than $10,000 per year, and a significantly lower percentage of families earning less than $3,000 per year than in the rural depressed community; and (b) a significantly lower median family income, a significantly lower percentage of families earning more than $10,000 per year, and a significantly higher percentage of families earning less than $3,000 per year than in the affluent suburban community.

Criteria for this definition were based on data from the United States Census of 1960 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1963). A more complete profile of the community is presented in Chapter III.

Affluent suburban community. The affluent suburban community in this study was a small primarily residential community with a 1960 population of 3,517, and was located adjacent to Maine's largest city. This community met the following defining criteria: a significantly higher median family income, a significantly higher percentage of families earning more than $10,000 per year, and a significantly lower percentage of families earning less than $3,000 per year than either the rural non-depressed or rural depressed community used in this study.

Criteria for this definition were based on data from the United States Census of 1960 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1963). A more complete profile of this community is presented in Chapter III.

Typical urban community. The urban community in this study was one of three cities in Maine which had a 1960 population exceeding 30,000 people. Specifically, this community had a 1960 population of 38,912 and approached the median rankings across all criteria as closely as either of the other two cities with populations of 30,000 or greater, and as closely as any of the other 12 cities with populations of 10,000 or more. These criteria on which the cities were ranked were median family income, percentage of families earning less than $3,000 per year, and percentage of families earning more than $10,000 per year.

Criteria for this definition were based on data from the United States Census of 1960 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1963). A more complete profile of the community is presented in Chapter III.

Summary of the Chapter

This introductory chapter commenced with a discussion of the historical antecedents of the current conceptualizations of poverty in the United States. It was noted that prior to and during the 1800's there was little concern among the general populace for those persons incapable of supporting themselves and their families. In fact it was not until the early Twentieth Century that it began to become more apparent to the lay person that social and economic as well as personal factors were irrevocably meshed with a poverty existence. The Depression of the 1930's was probably the most significant single event responsible for demonstrating this multiple causation to the American people, and hence, increased their recognition of the need to make formal provisions for dealing with the impoverished among them. In more recent decades, the increasing rapidity with which societal norms have changed, relegating the poor to positions from which they are increasingly less able to participate in the mainstream of society, has served to significantly elevate social concern for those living in poverty.

It was within the context of this historical perspective that the specific problem investigated in this study was developed. Through cultural perpetuation, poverty has come to exist in the midst of relative affluence. As such, the differences between the poor and the affluent have become increasingly apparent. Through the reflection of these differences, it was ventured, the disadvantaged received negative feedback which is damaging to their self-concepts. Furthermore, as the magnitude of confrontation with these differences may vary with the area of residence of the disadvantaged person, it appeared that the nature and degree of impact upon his self-concept might also vary with the characteristics of his area of residence. Hence, it was suspected that self-concept differences between disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged persons would vary according to the type of community in which they lived. The primary purpose of this study was, therefore, to test this rationale by investigating the existence of such differences and, if found, to describe their nature.

This introductory chapter concluded with the defining of significant terms to be used and an overview of the organization of the remainder of this dissertation.

Organization of the Remainder of the Dissertation.

In the following chapter, the significant literature having relevance for this study is reviewed, culminating in an integration of the highlights of the review such that the need for this investigation is delineated.

This is succeeded by Chapter III, an account of the plan and procedures of the study. Chapter IV contains an analysis of the data collected. Following this analysis and reporting of results is Chapter V, a discussion of the results in view of the stated assumptions which undergird, and limitations which bound the study. This dissertation concludes with Chapter VI, in which the reader may find a summary of the study, the conclusions drawn, and the questions raised as a result of the study.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

The sections which follow in this review constitute a summary of significant research, theoretical expositions, and descriptive writings which compose the more specific context within which this investigation was conceived and carried out. The more global context of this study was developed in the first section of Chapter I, to which the reader is referred for an historical perspective of poverty in the United States. Furthermore, the literature reviewed in this chapter illustrates the need for the present study, as noted in a later section.

The Characteristics and the Identification of Disadvantaged Youth

Since the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the people of the United States have given evidence of increasing concern with that segment of the population variously referred to as being culturally deprived, disadvantaged, poverty-stricken, slum dwellers, and ghetto youth. For the most part, these terms seem to be used quite synonymously to refer to members of what Lewis (1966) has simply called "the culture of poverty". He uses this label to refer to "a specific conceptual model that describes in positive terms a subculture of western society with its own structure and rationale, a way of life handed on from generation to generation along family lines (Lewis, 1966, p. 19)." In the following manner, the distinctiveness of this poverty culture is more specifically described.

> The culture of poverty is not just a matter of deprivation.... It is a culture in the traditional anthropological sense in that it provides human beings with a design for living, with a ready-

> made set of solutions for human problems, and so serves a significant adaptive function. This style of life transcends national boundaries and regional and rural-urban differences within nations. Wherever it occurs, its practitioners exhibit remarkable similarity in the structure of their families, in interpersonal relations, in spending habits, in their value systems and in their orientation in time (Lewis, 1966, p. 19).

Such a subculture has come into being in contemporary American society through the existence of certain preconditions which are necessary for it to flourish. These antecedents of a poverty culture have been formulated by the same writer.

> The setting is a cash economy, with wage labor and production for profit and with a persistently high rate of unemployment and underemployment, at low wages, for unskilled labor. The society fails to provide social, political and economic organization, on either a voluntary basis or by government imposition, for the low-income population. There is a bilateral kinship system centered on the nuclear progenitive family, as distinguished from the unilateral extended kinship system of lineage and clan. The dominant class asserts a set of values that prizes thrift and the accumulation of wealth and property, stresses the possibility of upward mobility and explains low economic status as the result of individual personal inadequacy and inferiority. Where these conditions prevail the way of life that develops among some of the poor is the culture of poverty (Lewis, 1966, p. 21).

Descriptions of a culture or subculture, however, often do not optimally define, particularly for purposes of identification, just how a disadvantaged person can be discriminated from one who is not disadvantaged. In fact, though some of the more specific definitions which follow may begin to approach a satisfactory translation of theory into operational terms, much of the related research has had to rely on a translation which is something less than optimal. Consequently, as is apparent in an ensuing section, identifying criteria which constitute an operational definition of "disadvantaged" do not necessarily correspond directly to their theoretical counterparts.

Theoretical and operational mutuality is probably maximized as much by the notion of Bloom, Davis, and Hess (1965, pp. 4-5) as by anybody. They caution that being disadvantaged should not be equated with ethnic or racial group membership, though many disadvantaged children do come from such settings. Rather, "disadvantaged" should be defined in terms of individual and/or environmental characteristics. A variety of dimensions is suggested by these authors as being appropriate for use in a definition. Included are students who do not make normal progress in school learning due to such handicaps as early home experiences which fail to provide the cultural patterns necessary for school-related learning. Low motivation for present school learning, the perception of schoolwork as unrelated to future goals, and dropping out of secondary school are other usable dimensions. Focusing on the home, frequent criteria used are low educational level of the adults, low income, a large family, divorced parents, discrimination, and slum conditions.

A danger with such definitions as the foregoing is that with a multitude of characteristics attributable to the disadvantaged, the definition can become so encompassing as to defeat the specificity desired in attempting to delimit the term. The difficulties become apparent in the studies reviewed in the ensuing section of this review.

Gordon and Wilkerson (1966, pp. 1-2) have somewhat allievated this potential problem by referring to the disadvantaged as a group of populations which differ from each other in various ways, but which have in common the following: low-economic status, low social status, low educational achievement, tenuous or no employment, limited participation in the community, and limited ready potential for upward mobility. A further handicap may be ethnic and cultural caste status.

Children from homes characterized by these factors enter school disadvantaged to the extent that they have not had experiences that are usual for the kinds of children the schools are used to teaching -- namely those from the middle class (Gordon & Wilkerson, 1966, p. 20).

Willie (1967, p. 173) is far more specific in that he uses only the economic dimension in defining the disadvantaged. For him, a person is considered to be deprived when his financial resources are insufficient to obtain the goods and services considered necessary for a normal standard of living in the local community.

A theme common to nearly all definitions of the disadvantaged is one which C. P. Deutsch (1967) uses as her sole definition; she defines the disadvantaged in relation "to entering and participating in the broad society, in terms both of employment and of social participation (p. 83)." The individual is disadvantaged in the sense that his background does not prepare him to acquire the skills needed for societal participation -- especially participation in school to acquire further needed skills.

The unstated, but strongly implied, focus of the definitions of "disadvantaged" has been on what is wrong with the disadvantaged individual and on the ways in which he must change to permit greater societal participation. Willie (1967, pp. 179-180) amplifies this point by noting the frequent use of "camouflaging verbiage", such as "poor motivation" and "poor attitude", which merely covers up the meager efforts of affluent adults to provide deprived youth with opportunities in the mainstream of society. The term "low aspiration" camouflages well the fact that all in American society are encouraged to succeed but some are denied the opportunity. Miller (1967, p. 41) has also challenged the utility of just such a descriptive posture as this by clarifying the implication that because the disadvantaged are different, they must be changed to fit a standardized approach. Once they measure up, then they can be dealt with effectively. On the contrary, Miller believes that "the obligation of the school system is to learn how to deal with people who are quite different in terms of their ways of dealing with the learning situation (1967, p. 41)." Thus, the people who are different are not obliged to change, rather it is the professional who must learn to deal with a wide variety of students.

K. B. Clark (1965) encapsulates this latter point of view in his educational deprivation theory, as opposed to a theory of social or cultural deprivation. He states it in the following manner:

> The evidence so far very strongly suggests that these children will learn if they are taught and they will not learn if they are approached as if they cannot learn...if children, poor children or Negro children or immigrant children are taught, accepted, respected and approached as if they are human beings, the average performance of these children may approach, and eventually reach the norm performance of other human beings who are so taught (Passow & Elliott, 1967, p. 23).

In summary, as indicated by Passow and Elliott (1967, pp. 37-39), the controversy remains unresolved as to whether the depressed academic achievement of disadvantaged pupils is due to an educational deprivation or a social deprivation -- whether it is due to the ineptness of teachers and counselors or to experiential deficits in early childhood. Hence efforts to formulate highly definitive statements of what constitutes a disadvantaged individual are confounded by this abstruseness.

Characteristics of disadvantaged youth. Regardless of the manner in which they are to be used, some comprehension of the characteristics of disadvantaged young people is necessary for educators who wish to maximize the effectiveness of their work with the disadvantaged. Such information is extremely plentiful in the literature, a summary of which is presented in this section.

Though dealing with an obviously non-representative sample of disadvantaged young people, a survey of the first 20,000 men and women who entered the Job Corps is rather enlightening (Edgecomb, 1967). The average corpsman is reported to have attended grade nine, but attained a sixth grade reading level and a fifth grade mastery of mathematics. Reading levels of 20% of the enrollees were below the norm for third grade. Of this same group, 26% had never held a job, and of those who had, almost half earned less than 1 dollar per hour; more than 10% earned 50 cents per hour or less. In a similar study of 878 Caucasian Job Corps enrollees, Gottlieb (1967) found that 63% of the enrollees' fathers and 65% of the mothers had not completed high school; in fact, 29% of the fathers and 19% of the mothers did not have a complete grade school education. From these two large samples it seems apparent that the young people represented were relatively incompetent in their formal educational endeavors, and their parents were similarly incompetent.

Havighurst and Moorefield (1967) characterize the frequent educational failure of disadvantaged children by noting that, often, families with poorly educated and economically incompetent parents fail to provide their children with the kinds of environmental stimulation likely to result in the development of average or higher intelligence. These children simply have not had the opportunity to explore the environment and play with the variety of playthings which help to expand preverbal intelligence. Such intellectual development of the disadvantaged youngster is further obstructed by a lack of verbal experiences with people around him. Bloom, Davis, and Hess (1965, pp. 45-47), and Taba and Elkins (1966, pp. 4-9) note that deficits in the perceptual skills of disadvantaged children are linked to the fact that they receive substantially less visual and auditory discriminative experiences at home than do most middle-class children. Hence, as noted by Bloom, Davis, and Hess (1965, p. 20), there is frequently a cumulative cognitive deficit in disadvantaged youngsters between the first and sixth years of school. The disadvantaged are behind when they start school, and they fall increasingly farther behind as time passes. Consequently these youngsters experience debilitating frustration in school which is manifest in apathy or rebellion when failure is imminent. All too frequently this degenerates further into a pervasive sense of inadequacy or inferiority -- in short, a low or negative self-concept.

In addition to restricted intellectual and perceptual development, the disadvantaged have been characterized as possessing other distinctive traits, among them the following: (a) a mode of expression and thinking that is more motorial and concrete than conceptual (Gordon, 1964; Passow and Elliott, 1967); (b) seeking immediate gratification with little tolerance for delayed reward (McQueen, 1965; Passow & Elliott, 1967); (c) low aspiration and motivation for school and academics (Gordon, 1964; Kemp, 1966; Passow & Elliott, 1967); (d) cumulative academic retardation, and a progressively deteriorating achievement pattern (Gordon, 1964; Kemp, 1966; Passow & Elliott, 1967); (e) limited role-behavior skills, and inadequate or inappropriate adult models (Gordon, 1964; McQueen, 1965; Passow & Elliott, 1967); (f) language inadequacies -- including limited vocabulary and syntactical structure, inability to handle abstract symbols, difficulty in developing and maintaining verbal thought sequences, greater reliance on non-verbal communication, and unfamiliarity with the formal language of the school (Gordon, 1964; Kemp, 1966; McQueen, 1965; Passow & Elliott, 1967); (g) utilitarian and materialistic attitudes which depress motivation, aspiration, and achievement (Gordon, 1964); (h) a low self-image as a person and as a learner (Arbuckle, 1964; Gordon, 1964; Kemp, 1966; McQueen, 1965; Passow and Elliott, 1967); (i) poor health problems (Kemp, 1966; McQueen, 1965).

It would undoubtedly be misleading to imply that all characteristics of the disadvantaged are infused with a negative quality. More than this, McQueen (1965) suggests that the limitations on learning might be minimized if the assets of the disadvantaged were emphasized in the schools. She asserts that though many disadvantaged young people may be relatively slow, they are not "dull". Furthermore, there is strength in their slowness, and once their interest becomes aroused, great caution and persistence may be seen in their endeavers. Gordon (1964), Passow and Elliott (1967), and Reissman (1963), in amplifying this focus on the positive aspects of the disadvantaged, are careful to note that cultural difference does not necessarily imply cultural defect. According to these authorities, the disadvantaged possess a number of strengths or positive characteristics. Among the more notable of these are the following: (a) a degree of cooperativeness and mutual aid regarding the extended family; (b) avoidance of strain acoompanying competitiveness and individualism; (c) sustained involvement with meaningful tasks on a selective basis; (d) egalitarianism, informality, and humor; (e) superior physical coordination and skill; (f) a cognitive style which is slow and careful, rather than clever and facile; (g) extrospection rather than introspection; (h) freedom from family overprotection and self-blame; (i) ingenuity and resourcefulness in pursuing self-selected goals, and in coping with peculiar difficulties of life conditions; (j) enjoyment of music, games, sports, and cars; (k) ability to express anger; (l) freedom from being word bound; (m) the physical style involved in learning.

Another common dimension employed for the purpose of differentiating middle-class and disadvantaged persons is that of values. At times, one hears concerns that programs designed to assist the disadvantaged are, in effect, asking them to negate their own values in deference to those of the middle class. There appears to be some evidence, however, that this charge is an unfounded one. Gottlieb (1967) studied Job Corps enrollees and concluded that "lower income youth do in fact seek a better life, a life that has the dimensions of what we have come to identify with the middle class (p. 122)." Kraft (1965) has sloughed off the issue as being pointless and detracting from more productive efforts to make effective use of the existing value differences. In a similar manner, Goldberg (1963) has seemingly viewed the issue as more apparent than real.

> The issue is not whether to imbue these children with middle-class values or strengthen the positive aspects of their own unique cultural forms. The issue is, rather, to provide these children with the skills and knowledge which will enable them to select their future direction rather than being hemmed in by the increasingly limited sphere of operations left to those who lack these skills (Goldberg, 1963, p. 89).

It would be grossly inaccurate to imply that all persons who are poor are characterized by the traits, attitudes, behavioral modes, and values heretofore specified. Numerous departures of very poor people from such normative formulations can be illustrated. Primitive peoples suffering dire poverty often had a relatively highly organized and self-sufficient culture -- however, the poverty culture of today does not. It is for these reasons, that Lewis (1966) has illustrated the importance of distinguishing between poverty and "the culture of poverty". Simply stated, poverty-stricken people possessing the previously described characteristics are included in the culture of poverty. However, this culture does not include all persons who are poor, and does include some persons who are not poor (Witty, 1967, p. 3).

In the preceeding pages the characteristics of the disadvantaged, their environments, and their plight have been elucidated. As a summary and a complementary exemplification of the confounding which exists in attempting to describe and identify disadvantaged persons, the thoughts of Paul A. Witty (1967) will serve well.

> It must be remembered that human beings with their great heterogeneity cannot be neatly catalogued. Argument concerning the delimitation or extension of these groups, or whether the terms used to describe them are the best possible, is therefore fruitless (p. 3).

Identification of disadvantaged youth. The criteria used to identify disadvantaged persons are closely akin to the characteristics and the definitions formulated for such a societal segment. As such, the process of developing realistic and meaningful criteria is fraught with problems because of the existence of a muliplicity of descriptive traits as indicated in the previous section. Identifying criteria are rendered even more ambiguous and tenuous by the fact that the previously described characteristics are not solely peculiar to low-income persons; moreover, not all low-income persons possess these identifying traits.

Such confounding of the identification process may not, however, be of as great a magnitude as it appears on the surface. Increasing selectivity on the basis of formal education and job skills has, according to Orshansky (1967, p. 62), created a change in the composition of the group referred to as being poor. "Once it included not only those able to earn little or nothing but a fair number who would eventually improve their lot (Orshansky, 1967, p. 62)." More recently the ranks of the poor have become increasingly populated with persons who are unable or not permitted to qualify for better-paying jobs. Hence, as indicated by Witty (1967, p. 3), though not all of the disadvantaged exist in poverty, the majority do; though not all children in poverty groups are disadvantaged, the great majority are.

The procedures and criteria for identifying the disadvantaged have, therefore, come to be essentially the same as those used in stratifying a population along social and economic dimensions. Though some variance among the factors used exists here as well, Wayland (1963, p. 55) has observed that social class is primarily determined by the allocation of prestige, which emphasizes the need for the collection of reputational data. In addition, however, he notes that such data is difficult to obtain. Hence, estimates of class position are frequently made on the basis of occupation, income, educational level, and type and location of residence. In examining these factors in more detail, he specifies one's occupation as being a more useful factor than income or wealth in determining social class. As it is related to occupation, educational level is considered another good indicator of class position. Furthermore, education is associated with values, aspirations, and general style of life, each of which tends to discriminate among social classes. Tumin (1967) in surveying a vast number of research studies found a wide range of such factors in use with the dominant tendency being toward objective criteria.

Probably the most widely recognized single criterion used specifically to identify disadvantaged individuals and families is annual family income. The use of this factor dates back to at least 1904 when Hunter established poverty lines of $460 annually for those living in the North, and $300 for families in the rural South (Hunter, 1904). In more recent times, Tumin (1967, p. 58) has reported the frequency of poverty in terms of annual income cutoff points of $2,500, $3,500, and $5,500 for a family of four people, though the rationale for selecting these particular points appears quite arbitrary.

Using a more carefully considered rationale, Orshansky (1967, pp. 72-76) has described three possible income criteria for identifying the disadvantaged.

1. The low-cost food plan developed in January 1962 by the Department of Agriculture does not exceed one-third of the total family income. This represents an income not exceeding $3,955 for a husband, wife, and two children. Such a criterion isolates 6,936,000 families as being disadvantaged.

2. The economy food plan of the Department of Agriculture, costing about 20% less than the low-cost plan, does not exceed one-

third of the total family income. Some 4,805,000 families exist below even this minimal subsistence level of $3,165 for a husband, wife, and two children.

3. The income cut-off point beyond which no Federal income tax is levied constitutes a third possible criterion.

Depending upon which criterion one selects, it is estimated that of all families having at least one child under age 18, between 18% and 26% had an income so low in 1961 that to maintain an inexpensive but adequate diet frequently meant doing without other necessities (Orshansky, 1967, p. 75).

In some instances, as in the present study, the amount of income received is difficult or impossible to ascertain. When this is the case, differentiations among social classes can be made by utilizing another of the numerous schemes, indices, and instruments which have been devised for this purpose. One such procedure is Warner's *Index of Status Characteristics* (Warner, Meeker, & Eells, 1949), which employs the variables of occupation, source of income, house type, and dwelling area. A similar scheme developed by Hollingshead, the *Index of Social Position* (Hollingshead & Redlich, 1958), utilizes evaluations of residence, occupation, and education. Hollingshead (1957) has also constructed a related index known as the *Two Factor Index of Social Position* (ISP), which uses the factors of occupation and education of the head of the household. It was this procedure for differentiating among social classes that was used in this investigation to isolate disadvantaged from non-disadvantaged students. For a more comprehensive explanation of the ISP and its use in this study the reader is referred to the section of this chapter dealing with the instruments used, and to the section of Chapter III which focuses on the classification of students.

The Nature of the Self-Concept

The use of the terms "self", "self-image", or "self-concept" as constructs in explaining human behavior arose largely from the works of William James. In his writings, James (1890) referred to the "Empirical Self" as being all that one "is tempted to call by the name of *me*. In its widest possible sense, however, a man's Self is the sum total of all that he can call his....(p. 291)." In a somewhat more specific manner, Lecky (1951, p. 219) stated that the self is the nucleus of the organization of an individual's feelings, ideas, and attitudes. McCandless has conceived of the self-concept from a slightly different point of view in terms of "expectancies". For him, the self-concept is "a set of expectancies, plus evaluations of the areas or behaviors with reference to which these exceptancies are held (McCandless, 1961, p. 173)."

For the purposes of the present study, the meaning attached to the term "self-concept" fits best with definitions formulated by Jersild, Rogers, or Combs and Snygg. The following is a definitive statement of "self" as drafted by Jersild (1952).

> The self is a composite of thoughts and feelings which constitute a person's awareness of his individual existence, his conception of who and what he is....The self includes, among other things, a system of ideas, attitudes, values, and commitments. The self is a person's total subjective environment....The self constitutes a person's inner world as distinguished from the 'outer world' consisting of all other people and things (p. 9).

A similar definition of the self-concept has been stated by Rogers (1951) in the following manner:

> The self-concept, or self-structure, may be thought of as an

> organized configuration of perceptions of the self which are admissable to awareness. It is composed of such elements as the perceptions of one's characteristics and abilities; the percepts and concepts of the self in relation to others and as associated with experiences and objects; and goals and ideals which are perceived as having positive or negative valence (p. 136).

Combs and Snygg (1959, pp. 126-127) have further differentiated the self-concept from the phenomenal self. For them, the phenomenal self is inclusive of the self-concept and may vary with the individual's perceptions of the situation. The phenomenal self consists of all differentiations of the perceptual field to which one refers when he says "I" or "me"; it includes all perceptions of self regardless of their importance. Within this Gestalt of self-perceptions, those aspects which are the most vital, important, and fundamental such that they seem to the individual to always be "him" -- the very core of his personality -- are referred to as the "self-concept".

As the reader will recall from the previous chapter, in this investigation it was not possible to distinguish between aspects of the self-report which reflected phenomenal self, and those which strictly reflected self-concept. Hence, self-concept, as herein used, most likely is inclusive of the phenomenal self as postulated by Combs and Snygg (1959).

Further elaboration upon the nature of the self-concept is predicated upon a construct which has heretofore been implied, but not explicated, in the cited definitions by Jersild, Rogers, and Combs and Snygg. That construct is the phenomenal or perceptual field. The concept of a "field" is a useful inference for the purpose of explaining the interrelationships between events which have been found to occur in predictable ways. It is particularly useful when the "why" or "how" of such occurrences is not discernable. Such is the case with human behavior.

A perceptual field as defined by Combs and Snygg (1959) is "the entire universe, including himself, as it is experienced by the individual at the instant of action (p. 20)." The perceptual field is the individual's reality, and it is composed of the meanings which are attached to the phenomena which he perceives at a given moment. The Gestalt or configurational nature of the field implies, according to Snygg (1959, pp. 14-15), that events are perceived within the context of the total field and not in isolation. However, the figure-ground nature of the field means that all events are not perceived with equal clarity or detail but with different shadings of distinctiveness, at any instant in time.

The content of the perceptual field is a function of both the individual's need operating in the field, and the opportunities present for differentiation of the field (Combs & Snygg, 1959, pp. 25-29). Since a fundamental need is to maintain and enhance the self, what is perceived is largely in terms of what is consistent with one's concept of self. In this manner, one's self-concept is perpetuated by permitting only those perceptions which are compatable with one's existing structure of self. Events which are potentially incompatable tend to be distorted or screened-out, while those which verify or fit with the existing self are attended to most vigorously (Combs & Snygg, 1959, pp. 153-154). Hence, the consistency and stability of the self is maintained. This does not imply an absolutely rigid or static nature, but rather that the self tends to resist changing. The origin of this notion of the resistance of the self to incompatable data exists in Lecky's theory of self-consistency, in which he notes that in order to maintain individuality, inconsistencies with the self must be removed as quickly as possible (Lecky, 1951, p. 246).

Formation and change of the self-concept. Although it is currently impossible to identify a specific time in the life of an individual when the self begins to come into existence, Jersild (1952, p. 16) indicates that the self is not inborn but acquired. Combs and Snygg (1959, pp. 31-48) note that this formation of the self commences within a relatively short time after birth as the individual develops a number of more or less discrete perceptions of self. Such perceptions, according to Jersild (1952, p. 16) and Mead (1934, p. 164), are formulated through the individual's experiences with life; experiences with other people being particularly influential. It is during this period of infancy and early childhood that differentiations between self and non-self aspects of the perceptual field begin to be made. Through exploration of himself and through the perceived feedback of others toward him, the child discovers who and what he is and is not, and attaches values to such discriminations (Combs & Snygg, 1959, pp. 134-144).

The same authors highlight the importance of early experiences with the family in providing the most permanent and pervasive definitions of self. This is largely because the young child is very dependent upon the family, and his transactions with people are predominantly with family members. Though the central significance of the family tends to decrease as the individual reaches later childhood and adolescence, Rainwater (1968, pp. 259-260) indicates that family influences persevere both through current and previous interpretations and evaluations of his behavior. The family, then, is one of the most pervasive social influences on the individual as he goes about defining who he is and what it means to be himself.

As the child increasingly encounters more people and situations outside the realm of the family, he comes to realize the extent to which he is a valued member of society. Certain persons, particularly those in a position to gratify or withhold gratification of his needs, come to take on special significance in the young person's life. His valuation and perceptions of himself are, according to McCandless (1961, pp. 173-205), strongly influenced by such persons. If, in the perceptions of such significant persons, his behavior is socially valuable, he comes to value himself; if socially neutral, he may become a nonentity in his own eyes; if socially destructive, his self-concept may be that of a non-valued or rejected member of society. Moreover, he makes evaluations of his own proficiencies, particuarly when these are important to his own survival and fulfillment. When a competency has high personal or social value, a perceived deficit in this area may contribute in a major fashion to one's general self-concept. Thus, the self-concept is a function of the importance of its various facets and the way one comes to feel about them, both from his own self-evaluations and the internalized evaluations of significant others. Concomitantly, one's total concept of self may vary from very poor to very good according to the number of important areas of his life a person regards as good or bad, and the degree to which they are good or bad.

It should be emphasized, at this point, that the self-concept is more than a mere collection of isolated perceptions of self. Rather, through the process of differentiation, which includes such processes as integration, synthesis, analysis, and generalization, an organized, patterned interrelationship of all perceptions of the "I" or "me" is formed. This process of differentiation represents changes in the figure-ground relationships within the Gestalt of self-perceptions, or within the individual's meanings attached to the various areas of the perceptual field. Such differentiations commonly occur in terms of the nearness, similarity, intensity, continuity, contrast, or common movement of events which one perceives. What this means in terms of one's self-concept is that some self-perceptions are more central and more highly valued than others -- therefore being more influential behaviorally and more resistant to change. The differentiative process likewise renders some variability in the clarity of different self-perceptions, which causes the individual's courses of action to vary from those that are vague, diffuse, and disordered to those that are highly definitive and specific (Combs & Snygg, 1959, pp. 30-48).

Though the process of differentiating and defining the self commences largely at birth, and though the self-concept is relatively highly differentiated by the end of adolescence, this does not imply that the self is a static construct with which the individual is bound to live for the remainder of his days. On the contrary, as noted by Erikson (1960, p. 47) and Combs and Snygg (1959, pp. 157-164), the development of one's identity or sense of self is a life-long process. Hence, aspects of the self which are inadequate, or which are not well differentiated can be changed at any point in one's life, though it is generally easier with a younger than with an older person. In fact, self-discovery is continuous. In this sense, change occurs through the on-going process of self-differentiation.

This dynamic nature of the self is not contradictory to the previous formulations of a self which tends to resist change, because concomitant with the need to maintain and enhance the self is the need to maintain an adequate self -- one which will permit the adequate functioning of the individual in all situations. Since cultural and situational change seems to be a fact of life, this implies that for the self to be adequate to meet changing demands, it also must either change or be perpetually in conflict and become increasingly constricted (Combs & Snygg, 1959, pp. 45-46). Wenkart (1950) has also indicated the potential for change in the self by stating that the self includes the "constant nature of an individual plus all that is conditioned by time and space and that is changeable (p. 91)." Therefore, though self-adequacy is predicated upon a self that is stable and consistent, it is also predicated upon adequacy in dealing with changing environmental demands.

Change in the self-concept is either facilitated or inhibited according to certain conditions.

1. The current degree of differentiation of the self concept. A well differentiated self-concept is usually more resistant to change because pre-existing differentiations tend to interfere with subsequent differentiations particularly when each is related to the same aspect of self. On the other hand, if initial differentiations are quite highly specific, then specificity of behavior in a variety of relevant situations is more likely to reduce the need for further

change (Combs & Snygg, 1959, pp. 15-16).

2. The value placed on the aspect to be changed. The individual does not value equally all aspects of the self. Those less important self-perceptions are more easily changed (Combs & Snygg, 1959, pp. 157-164).

3. The relationship of the new concept to that of the maintenance and enhancement of the self. Those new concepts which meet this need for maintenance and enhancement are more readily assimilated because of a reduced threat to the existing self (Combs & Snygg, 1959, pp. 157-164). Rogers (1959) has enlarged upon this condition by observing that experiences which are inconsistent with the self are usually rejected from incorporation due to the defensive constriction of the threatened self. Previously rejected perceptions can be considered only when the self is relatively free from threat. Hence, according to Combs and Soper (1959), the more highly self-accepting an individual is, the more free he is to permit change in his self-concept. This does not imply approval or disapproval of self, but that the individual can admit into awareness facts about himself with a minimum of defense or distortion. From this point, he can begin to make assessments or evaluations of his self-perceptions, and initiate courses of action which seem to him to be appropriate.

4. The vividness of the experience to the individual concerned. As the clarity or vividness of an experienced event increases, there is a concomitant increase in the likelihood of change in the self. In this sense, therefore, first-hand experiences contain more potential for inducing change than do those events experienced indirectly (Combs & Snygg, 1959, pp. 157-164).

5. Assistance in focusing on self-perceptions. Greater differentiation of the self is permitted when one has the assistance of at least one other in focusing upon one's perceptions of himself (Rogers, 1959). The dynamic operating in such a situation seems closely akin to the theory of self-disclosure as proposed by Jourard (1964). He states that "no man can come to know himself except as an outcome of disclosing himself to another person (p. 5)." Thus, permitting others to be aware of one's self-perceptions enhances one's own awareness of these perceptions.

This section has focused upon the formation of the self-concept, how it may change, and the conditions under which such change may occur. However, the self as an entity is a rather meaningless construct. Its significance comes to fruition when one realizes the profound influence of the self upon behavior. It is toward such significations that the ensuing section is directed.

Self-concept as a determinant of behavior. "All behavior, without exception, is completely determined by, and pertinent to the perceptual field of the behaving organism (Combs & Snygg, 1959, p. 20)." This basic postulate of Combs and Snygg implies that behavior is always consonant with reality, because the reality of the behaver can be none other than what he perceives and the meanings which he attaches to these perceived phenomena. Since the individual's self-perceptions are an integral part of his perceptual field, they are, in part, determinants of his behavior. Moreover, the same authors have indicated that the content of one's perceptions is a function of the individual's need operating in the perceptual field. A very fundamental and pervasive need of all people is to maintain and enhance the self. As previously indicated, in performing this function, the self acts as a filter or screen to sort out from the myriad of possible perceptions those which are enhancing and those which are attenuating or conflict-producing with respect to the self. Hence, the self-concept affects behavior through the content of the perceptions admitted to one's awareness. Furthermore, the degree of clarity and specificity of perceptions is influential. Snygg (1959, pp. 14-15) indicates that highly detailed and differentiated perceptions tend to lead to precise behavior, whereas behavior resulting from vague and equivocal perceptions is enigmatic and confused. More specifically, McCandless (1961) asserts that persons with good or positive self-concepts tend to be less anxious, generally better adjusted, more effective in groups, more honest with themselves, and less defensive. In addition, he cites a variety of studies which indicate that the accuracy of an individual's self-perceptions tend to be associated with a number of measures of good adjustment, although it may depend on whether the self-concept is high and accurate or low and accurate -- the former being more likely to accompany good adjustment. Numerous other studies have also supported the relationship between measured self-concept and measures of maladjustment (Calvin & Holtzman, 1958; Cowen, 1954; Hanlon, Hofstaetter, & O'Connor, 1954; Smith, 1958; Taylor & Combs, 1952; Zuckerman & Manashkin, 1957). Although their criteria for degree of adjustment may be questioned, Turner and Vanderlippe (1958) attempted to establish the validity of the degree of discrepancy between self and ideal-self as an index of adjustment. Using a Q-sort they found greater congruence between self and ideal-self in college students who were more active in extracurricular activities, had higher scholastic averages, and were given higher sociometric ratings by their fellow students. In spite of such supportive evidence, however, Lowe (1961) questions whether or not the relationship between self-concept and adjustment is as simple and direct as it appears. The fact that other studies have not demonstrated the existence of such a relationship, suggests to him that the discrepancy in results may be more an instrumentational artifact than a function of the person taking the instrument.

Further evidence of the relationship between self-concept and behavior is cited by Fitts (1965a, p. 6), who states that people exhibiting deliquent, criminal, and anti-social behavior have self-concepts which deviate in predictable ways. Epstein (1962) found that the self-concepts of delinquent females were more negativistic than those of non-deliquent females. Motoori (1963) found that delinquents' self-concepts departed widely from those of non-delinquents in the control group, but the ideal-self was similar for both groups. In an extensive review of self-concept studies of delinquents, Hamner (1968) draws the following conclusion:

> The similarity of self concept patterns across various delinquent populations suggests a possible universal "delinquency pattern" in self-perception. However, other groups whose behavior is generally anti-social, though not necessarily delinquent (from a legal standpoint) show quite similar patterns. Perhaps then we should think of this general pattern in even broader terms It may be more appropriate to characterize this as an "anti-social" pattern (p. 30).

From a massive, multi-dimensional research program focusing on the relationship of self-concept to a host of human conditions, Fitts (1964b, 1968) has concluded that people who have deviant thoughts, feelings, and behavior generally have deviant self-concepts. In this sense, one's self-concept is a good index of his state of mental health, even to the point of providing some understanding of the type of disturbance he is experiencing. In addition, Fitts (1968) has some evidence that "desirable self concept changes are associated with desirable behavioral change (p. 21)." Concomitantly, McCandless (1961) reports that changes in self-acceptance seem to be associated with changes in accepting other people. This particular aspect of self-concept may indicate that a self-accepting person views the world as a friendlier place than does one who is self-rejecting.

As should be evident, the bulk of research dealing with self-concept has been directed toward those deviant or abnormal segments of the population which have come to have labels of undesirability attached to them -- the mentally ill, the anti-social or asocial personality, alcoholics, inadequate personalities, and the like. Though self-concept differences have been found among persons in these groups, such findings do not necessarily imply that similar differences exist at the more positive end of the continuum. It would, for example, be fallacious to assume that self-actualizing people, or those with highly integrated personalities, would differ in self-concept from the general population. However, there does seem to be some evidence pointing in just this direction. Seeman (1966) found that college females selected by their peers on the basis of personality integration differed in both self-concept and academic achievement. Fitts (1968) also reports that "regardless of how well adjusted highly integrated persons are identified or selected (peer ratings, job performance, positive experiencing, voice quality, self-disclosure, or what not) they still show the same kinds of healthy self concepts (p. 16)."

The general position of theories employing the self-concept as a construct is that the self-concept is a causal influence upon behavior (Combs & Snygg, 1959, pp. 3-36; Fitts, 1965a; Hamner, 1968, p. 32; Jersild, 1952, pp. 14-15). However, though there is some evidence supporting this causation, the scientific data which presently exists is not sufficient to be considered conclusive. For the present, the position taken by Hamner (1968) appears to be the most defensible -- "that there is an interaction effect between self concept and behavior with each exerting an influence on the other (p. 32)." Hence, one can explain behavior by starting with self-concept or explain self-concept by starting with behavior, and progress through the cycle back to the starting point.

The Nature and Importance of the Self-Concepts of Disadvantaged Youth

The nature of the self-concept as a psychological construct, how it forms, and changes, and how it is related to behavior has been reviewed. It now seems appropriate to consider the relevance of this construct for explaining the behavior of disadvantaged persons. This section will review research studies and authoritative statements pertaining to the ways in which disadvantaged persons perceive themselves. It will commence with a consideration of the nature of their self-concepts, and will be followed by an examination of the importance and the implications of the self-concepts which the disadvantaged appear to have.

Nature of self-concepts of disadvantaged youth.

The literature dealing with the disadvantaged contains an abundance of professional opinion that disadvantaged persons, compared to those of higher social classes, have low, negative, or inadequate self-concepts, and that they tend to see themselves as persons of little worth (Bloom et al., 1965, pp. 72-73; D. H. Clark, 1967, p. 10; Gordon, 1964, p. 195; Lewis, 1966; Taba & Elkins, 1966, pp. 4-9). Johntz (1966) states that "the primary causal factor in the low achievement of culturally disadvantaged children is the low, negative image they have of themselves (p. 577)." He does not, however, supply even a shred of evidence to support this rather sweeping statement.

Other authorities have elaborated upon the etiology and perpetuation of the disadvantaged youngster's low self-concept (Bloom et al., 1965, pp. 20-47; C. P. Deutsch, 1967; M. Deutsch, 1967, p. 212; McQueen, 1965; Passow & Elliott, 1967, pp. 25-28). These writers agree that disadvantaged children lack certain crucial experiences in the home prior to starting school. Upon entering school with inadequately developed perceptual and cognitive skills, as well as entering with attitudes which do not fit well with the school, these children experience a preponderance of failure early in their school lives. Consequently they learn that they are not valued by the school and the larger society which it represents. As a result of being saturated with such devaluation, the disadvantaged youngster soon learns to devalue himself. His personal sense of his own dignity and worth are on the wane. With the passage of time in school, a cumulative deficit in his school achievement continues to confirm, for the disadvantaged youngster, his negative image of himself as a person and as a learner.

Research focusing on the self-concepts of disadvantaged persons is rather meager, and hardly as conclusive as the preceeding authorities might seem to imply. Some writers have drawn inferences from earlier studies which investigated mental illness as related to social class. Tannenbaum (1967) draws from the Midtown Manhattan Study in noting that the socially disadvantaged are not only distrustful and cynical, but also have low self-esteem. Hollingshead and Redlich (1958), in another urban study, found that schiophrenic symptoms and manic-depressive reactions were more frequent in lower-class than in upper-class persons. Such a finding could be interpreted as implying the existence of more submissive and passive self-concepts on the part of the disadvantaged. Though this may be substantiated, it implies little with respect to the nature and frequency of psychological disturbances among the higher social classes. Could it be, for example, that the different kinds of psychological disturbances that appear to be more peculiar to certain social classes are merely different manifestations of a low, inadequate, or negative self-concept?

Hawk (1967) reports evidence of low self-esteem, self-deflation, and self-depreciation on the part of socially disadvantaged persons. These characteristics are, he claims, manifest in difficulty in interpersonal relations, difficulty in accepting responsibility, and behavior patterns tending to be fearful and passive.

Malone (1966) studied self-descriptive statements by preschool children from "multiproblem, hard-to-reach" families. He found that they demonstrated a need for attention, but had a distrust and intolerance of closeness. "Low self-esteem and marked self-devaluation were characteristic of these children, along with derogation of their products. They had little confidence in their ability....(p. 9)."

Wrightstone (1967) found similar evidence with disadvantaged sixth-grade pupils in a Higher Horizons Program. A self-concept scale was administered to all students in seven matched pairs of Higher Horizons and control group schools. Students in the control group schools were found to have higher self-concepts than those in the Higher Horizons Schools. However, separate comparisions of boys and girls in the two groups did not reveal statistically significant self-concept differences. Interpretation of these results might have been enhanced if data regarding self-concepts of these students had also been collected prior to commencing the Higher Horizons Program. Is it possible, for example, that the self-concepts of students in the Higher Horizons Schools became worse during their involvement with the Program?

In another study, Silverman (1963) administered a semantic differential to 190 upper-middle class students and 134 working-class students in grades seven and eight. She found the working-class students to be more characterized by self-ratings of "respectability" and "restraint". In addition, a sex differential was present whereby upper-middle-class boys rated themselves as more expressive and independent in their behavior, while girls in the same class were more characterized by restraint. The working-class boys were the most internal or restrained of all four groups, while the girls of this class were somewhat more expressive than the boys.

In attempting to better understand early childhood factors related to later educational retardation and dropping out of school, Hess (1967) investigated mother-child interaction with 160 mothers and their 4 year old children. He selected 40 mother-child pairs from each of four social classes -- upper-middle class, working class, those with unskilled occupations, and those receiving public assistance. Among other findings, self-concept and motivational structure differentiated well among the mothers in these groups. Working-class mothers were found to have occupational aspirations for their children which were often drastically different from their expectations of what the child would really do. Thus, Hess concluded that in a society offering a vast range of opportunities, these mothers were convinced, through the reflections of their own experience, that their children would not reach desirable goals due to lack of opportunity, or schooling, or ability.

Bieri and Lobeck (1961) studied self-concept differences on the variables of "dominance" and "love", as related to social class differences. The Interpersonal Checklist was administered to 89 enlisted men in an Army Reserve unit. Social class of the subjects was determined by the use of Hollingshead's Two Factor Index of Social Position. Each subject was categorized into one of two groups; either the group including social classes I, II, and III, or the group including the lower social classes IV and V. Although the two groups did not differ on the "love" self-concept score, the high social class group had a significantly higher "dominance" score than did the lower group. The high group also had a significantly higher score on the dominance scale than on the love scale; the tendency was reversed for the lower social class group, but the differences were not statistically significant. In general, the subjects in the lower group tended to check items which were more self-effacing -- masochistic, and docile --

dependent. The high group subjects checked more managerial -- autocratic, competitive -- narcissistic, and rebellious -- distrustful items.

In an investigation conducted by Mitchell (1967), it was found that disadvantaged rural mountain youth scored below the fortieth percentile on each of the ten subscales of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale used in the study. It was also found that exposure of these 159 junior high school students to a three week cultural enrichment program caused no changes in self-concept as assessed in this study, with the exception of a significant increase in the Physical Self score of the males. Results of this research led to the conclusion that the subjects were defensive, doubtful of their worth, and felt inadequate.

The results of the preceeding study appear to be supported by the findings of Martin (1968). Administration of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale to 79 Mexican-American participants in the Neighborhood Youth Corps revealed that scores on the Total Positive subscale fell below the twentieth percentile on the publisher's norms. This indicated that the general self-concepts of these disadvantaged youngsters was markedly lower than the bulk of the sample composing the norms. Exactly what this means in terms of social class differences, or in comparing disadvantaged with non-disadvantaged persons on the dimension of self-concept, is impossible to determine on the basis of this data.

Brookover (1967) studied the self-concepts of academic ability of 453 underachievers in a variety of schools over a period of 4 years. Among other results, he found that socio-economic status had a low relationship to self-concept.

In one of the few studies attempting specifically to ascertain self-concept differences between culturally deprived and middle-class adolescents, Walton (1965) found no differences between the two groups on overall self-concept. There were, however, some rather highly specific differences between the two groups. The deprived adolescents were found to exhibit more conflict and confusion in their self-concepts than were the middle-class students. The members of the deprived group also tended to over-affirm the positive attributes of their self-concepts. These results, however, appear to be of limited generalizability due to a relatively small sample of 48 students, and to possible confounding by racial differences within the sample and membership of the deprived adolescents in the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Three other studies have focused upon the self-concepts of disadvantaged children in elementary school grades ranging from third through sixth. Carroll (1966) found significant differences in self-perceptions when her sample was differentiated according to sex and academic achievement, but found no significant differences when economic status was used to stratify the sample. Kerensky (1966) likewise found that self-concept scores of inner-city children did not differ significantly from the instrument norm group. Crosswait (1967) found a relationship between self-concept and sociometric status for Negro children, but not for Caucasians.

In general, then, though there is some evidence tending to support the notion of self-concept differences between disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged adolescents, research results appear to be inconclusive or in conflict to such an extent as to permit no sweeping conclusions to be drawn.

Importance of self-concepts of disadvantaged youth. Actually the self-concept maintained by a disadvantaged person is no more or less important than a self-concept held by anyone else. That is, one's self-concept is generally recognized as being an important determinant of his behavior (Grambs, 1965), and as such it makes no difference whether he is among the disadvantaged or the highly affluent segments of society. However, as indicated in the previous section of this chapter, there is a certain amount of evidence and a surplus of professional opinion which indicates on the part of disadvantaged persons a propensity toward a lower or more negative self-concept. Arbuckle (1964) has encapsulated this restrictive process in the following way: "Deprivation only becomes crucial and controlling when it is of the inside as well as the outside (p. 176)." He indicates that the disadvantaged learn to conceive of themselves as "disadvantaged" or "underprivileged" by being "told" they are. They come to believe they are small people, and as such, are not able to transcend their culture but become enculturated by it. The real restriction then becomes that the individual comes to perceive himself as a relatively worthless, determined victim of a determined world. Hence, it may be that an important factor in breaking the "poverty cycle" is a more positive concept of self. Evidence cited by McQueen (1965) makes this notion appear even more tenable. She reports that young people with positive self-concepts tend to be better equipped to rise above environments of failure and delinquency. Hence, concern with the perceptions of themselves held by disadvantaged persons is crucial to the extent that such perceptions facilitate or retard freedom of choice and behavior, and promote or inhibit the actualization of human potential.

The Relationship of the Self-Concept to Sex and Race

The purpose of this section of the review is to highlight what previous research has revealed regarding the relationship of self-concept to certain other variables relevant to this study -- namely sex and race. The variable of socio-economic status has previously been considered in the section dealing with self-concepts of the disadvantaged, as it is impossible or inadequate to investigate such an area without employing the entire socio-economic spectrum as a frame of reference. Hence, this section will focus on the two remaining variables of utmost relevance to this research project.

Sex differences and the self-concept.

Whether or not the sex variable is influential in determining self-concept differences is difficult to ascertain from the research literature. A study by Wendland (1969) seems to indicate that sex differences may be reflected in self-concept differences particularly during certain years of life, and for certain aspects of self. In researching self-concept differences among eighth-grade students in three different ability groups, she found girls in the low group to have significantly lower self-concept scores than girls in the middle and high groups. No such differences were found to occur among the boys in these three groups, nor were differences found between the boys and the girls collectively. She reasoned that such a discrepancy in findings among the boys and among the girls was to be expected, as school achievement is a more salient factor for girls in adolescence than for boys. Carroll (1966), however, did find significant differences between fifth-grade boys and girls when they were asked to make reports of their self-perceptions as learners. Still another investigation of self-estimates of ability to do schoolwork revealed that in this sample of 823 junior high school students, white girls rated themselves more modestly than white boys (Wylie, 1963). Brookover (1967), on the contrary, in a study of 453 underachievers over a 4 year period,found no sex differences when relating self-concept of ability to actual achievement.

Wylie (1961, pp. 143-147) summarizes a vast number of studies, each of which was designed to relate the variable of sex to the subject's self-report on an instrument. Though difficult to synthesize, the results seem to provide some evidence to support the notion of general self-concept differences between males and females; the males tending to be more positive or favorable.

In a study of rural disadvantaged youth, Mitchell (1967) reports significant differences between males and females on two of ten subscales of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale. Males were found to be higher on the Physical Self subscale, while females were higher on the Moral-Ethical Self subscale.

Two other investigators also found a sex differential to be important in accounting for self-concept differences. Silverman (1963), in a previously cited study, found upper-middle-class boys and working-class girls to be more expressive and independent in their behavior than upper-middle-class girls and working-class boys, who tended to be more characterized by self-ratings of restraint. Goldberg (1963, pp. 86-88) reports lowered self-esteem in Negro males, probably as a function of the lack of a male model in the home. However, the reason for such a difference becomes less certain when considering that Bieri and Lobeck (1961) found no significant differences between the self-concepts of adult males who identified with their fathers and those who identified with their mothers.

In the Higher Horizons evaluation conducted by Wrightstone (1967), though self-concept differences were revealed between the students in Higher Horizons and control group schools, when separate comparisons of boys and girls in each group were made, no such differences existed.

From the research herein summarized, it should be apparent that the bulk of the investigations dealing with the relationship between sex and self-concept have not focused on these two variables alone. Rather, the tendency is to note the interaction of sex with some other variable, such as academic ability, upon self-concept. The conflicting and contradictory findings resulting from these studies leaves one in the unfortunate position of being able to say nothing, other than the fact that the question remains unanswered.

Race and the self-concept. Not infrequently, the literature dealing with the disadvantaged implies or directly focuses upon the effects of being a member of a racial minority as well as being in a low socio-economic class. Passow and Elliott (1967, p. 25) indicate that the negative self-images of the disadvantaged mirror the social discrimination and segration to which they are subjected. These authors further speak of the negative psychological impact of impoverishment and "ghettoization" on ego development, motivation, and personality traits of minority-group children. C. P. Deutsch (1967) also asserts that as a large proportion of the urban disadvantaged is Negro as well as poor, discrimination and prejudice of the larger society further impairs self-attitudes. Other writers have aptly amplified the clear reflection of racial differences which is perpetuated by contemporary American society (Allport, 1954; Grambs, 1965). "The self-concept of the Negro is contaminated by the central fact that it is based on a color-caste complex (Grambs, 1965, p. 13)." Numerous other investigators have implicitly demonstrated that concern with the disadvantaged is tantamount to concern with racial minorities (Ausubel and Ausubel, 1963; Cavan, 1959; Clark and Clark, 1947; Deutsch and Brown, 1964; Hirsch, 1965; Kardiner and Ovesey, 1951; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958).

Though considerable opinion exists regarding the effects of being in a racial minority upon personality development, there is little available research. What evidence there is, however, seems to indicate the existence of very real qualitative differences between Negro and white children -- even when living conditions, family income, neighborhood, and similar factors are held constant (Lott & Lott, 1963). Though the white and the Negro may live in close proximity, they do not live in the same world. Bloom, Whiteman, and Deutsch (1963), however, apparently feel less than certain that the negative impact upon racial minorities is so precise. In attempting to sort out the variables of race and social class as they influence social environment, these authors studied a sample of 292 pairs of Negro and white parents and their first- and fifth-grade children. The subjects were drawn from three different social class levels. In general, they found the relationship between social class and environmental conditions to be similar for both Negroes and whites. Hence, the conclusion was drawn that social class seems to be a more potent variable than race in predicting environmental and attitudinal factors.

Goldberg (1963, pp. 86-88) and Wylie (1963) both reported evidence of more negative self-images in Negroes than whites. Findings reported by Williams and Byars (1968) similarly support the notion of the development of lower self-concepts in Negro than in white students. Specifically, this study revealed that the Negro sample scored below the norm mean on each of 17 subscales of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale used in this study. In addition, on 12 of the 17 subscales the Negroes scored significantly lower than the whites, and revealed more defensiveness than the whites. However, on a total score inclusive of 8 subscales, no significant differences existed.

Conversely, using the same instrument as in the previous study, Wendland (1969) disclosed a tendency for Negro adolescents to present a slightly more positive self-report than did whites. It was further suggested that these more positive self-reports may have been due to defensiveness and distortion, as other scales revealed a greater tendency toward defensiveness and cynicism among the Negro students than among the whites.

In consequence of the preceeding research investigations, it appears that there is some evidence supporting the notion of membership in a racial minority resulting in a negative impact upon one's self-concept. However, the results are not so unequivocal as to warrant anything but a cautious and tentative acceptance.

Need for the Study

As previously indicated in this chapter and in Chapter I, people reared in poverty tend to continue a poverty-stricken existence, as do their progeny. The perpetuation of poverty across generations is not out of choice, but seems rather to result from a lack of freedom to choose. In part, this lack of choice has arisen from the failure of public education to adequately provide for disadvantaged young people. It is not the student who must change, but rather the institution which must try to assure more positive and successful school experiences for students from disadvantaged environments. To promote more successful educational practices, educators need to understand disadvantaged youngsters as deeply and thoroughly as possible. Such an understanding is predicated, in part, upon knowledge of the disadvantaged young person.

Gordon and Wilkerson (1966) assert that though students' attitudes toward school and learning are important, "it is in the area of attitude toward self and others that the crucial determinants of achievement and upward mobility may lie, and it is in these areas that our data are least clear (p. 18)." Evidence presented earlier in this chapter indicated that studies in these areas have yielded conflicting or inconclusive findings. Bloom, Davis, and Hess (1965) support this contention when stating that "research on personality development in deprived children has not been very extensive (p. 72)." Orshansky (1967) adds that "along with basic research into the cause and long-range cure for chronic low income, there is need for more thoroughgoing inquiry into the characteristics of those currently affected and a means of counteracting some of the more dire social consequences, at least for children (p. 84)." More generally, Fitts (1965a, p. 8) states a need for research regarding how self-concept relates to socio-economic status.

Gordon and Wilkerson (1966, pp. 1-20), in commenting on research efforts with the disadvantaged, note three principal foci -- the child, his environment, and the teaching-learning process. Within the context of these three dimensions, Willie (1967) emphasizes that "to focus only on the deprived child without considering also the social system which alienates him and contributes to his deprivation may not solve even half of the problem and certainly not the whole (p. 181)."

At this point, it should be specifically noted that the study herein reported focused both on the personality characteristics of disadvantaged young people and on the various socio-cultural contexts within which personality development takes place. The research rationale and design developed for this investigation was similar to one formulated by Wendland (1969), which proved fruitful in providing evidence that self-concept is differentially affected according to certain interactions of race and area of residence. Hence, it appeared likely that any differential effects of low socio-economic level upon self-concept would be found to vary with the social and economic parameters of the community. Such differential effects may help in explaining the conflicting or inconclusive findings regarding self-concepts of the disadvantaged. Furthermore, it was expected that concentration upon one race would render more visible the effects of socio-economic differences, and permit more research efforts to be directed toward the hitherto neglected rural poor.

The Literature Related to Instruments and Techniques Used

This investigation utilized one instrument for inferring self-concept, and a formalized technique for classifying subjects into groups labeled "disadvantaged" and "non-disadvantaged". These were respectively, the Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS)(Fitts, 1964), and the Two Factor Index of Social Position (ISP) (Hollingshead, 1957). This section of the chapter will consist of a review of literature relevant to the TSCS, and the ISP.

Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS). Inasmuch as the phenomenal self or self-concept is not a physical entity, and as such is not open to direct observation, assessments of this concept can only be inferred or approximated from behavioral observations (Combs and Snygg, 1959, p. 43; McCandless, 1961). In elaborating upon this limitation, Combs, Soper, and Courson (1963) state that one's self-concept is not the same as a self-report. The former is the organization of all a person believes about himself; the latter a description of these beliefs to an outsider -- a sample of behavior. The self-report is what the person says he is. Though the self-concept affects the self-report, and though the two are related, there is not a direct correspondence between them. In fact, the degree of correspondence which does exist is dependent upon at least five factors: (a) the clarity of the individual's awareness, (b) the degree of availability of adequate symbols for expression, (c) the willingness of the person to cooperate, (d) the degree of freedom from threat, and (e) the perceived social expectations.

With such a variety of influential factors operating to reduce the reliability and validity of attempts at assessment, it should not be surprising that Wylie (1961) has reported the use of a wide range of instruments to measure phenomenal self. Most of these instruments have been used in only one study, and as such provide almost no reliability estimates while completely disregarding questions of validity. The reliability of available instruments, when reported at all, is usually of the split-half type; though reflecting internal consistency, it reveals nothing of time-associated errors of instability. Regarding the validity of the vast number of self-concept instruments which she has reviewed, Wylie (1961, pp. 104-107) concludes that though there is some collective evidence of concurrent validity, the construct validity of any such instrument remains to be demonstrated.

The Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS) appears to be considerably more carefully constructed and researched than most other instruments. In reviewing the TSCS, Crites (1965) states that to a considerable extent the scale fulfills the need which it was intended to meet; that is, a measure "which is simple for the subject, widely applicable, well standardized, and multi-dimensional in its description of the self concept (Fitts, 1965b, p. 1)." Crites continues by relating that his impression of the TSCS gained from the available findings is a generally favorable one. "Validity data on the scale are promising (Crites, 1965, p. 330)." It discriminates between psychiatric groups and normals, and discriminates among psychiatric groups, as well as correlating well with the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory and the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule. Moreover, Crites adds, there is some evidence of score changes in predicted ways as a result of psychotherapy. His primary concern relates to the rationale of the scale rather than its construction; as the subject is not allowed to use his own words in describing himself, one might say it is not truly phenomenological.

The TSCS was developed from a pool of items derived from a number of other self-concept measures and from self-descriptions of patients and non-patients. "After considerable study, a phenomenological system was developed for classifying items on the basis of what they (subjects) themselves were saying (Fitts, 1965b, p. 1)." Ninety of the 100 TSCS items are grouped into a two-dimensional, 3 X 5 scheme. The three levels of one dimension are labeled Identity, Self-Satisfaction, and Behavior. The second dimension consists of the following five aspects of self -- Physical Self, Moral-Ethical Self, Personal Self, Family Self, and Social Self. The remaining 10 items used in the TSCS compose the Self Criticism subscale, and were taken from the L-Scale of the MMPI. In addition, a number of other scores are generated by noting variations in responses. For a discussion of the specific subscales used in this investigation, and the manner in which combinations were made for interpretive purposes, the reader is referred to Chapter III.

The norm group upon which the TSCS was standardized consisted of 626 people from various parts of the country, with ages ranging from 12 to 68 years, and representing all social, economic, intellectual, and educational levels. The author, however, cautions that the norms contain a preponderance of college students, white subjects, and persons in the 12 to 30 year age group (Fitts, 1965b).

Reliability data as presented in the TSCS Manual (Fitts, 1965b) consists primarily of test-retest correlations with 60 college students over a two-week period. The magnitude of these correlations on all major subscales (.80 to .92) is such as to suggest reasonable stability over time. Indications of stability over long periods of time are supported by profile analyses, in which distinctive features of individual profiles have been retained for most persons a year or more later.

Considerable validity data is also presented in the Manual. Evidence exists which indicates that the TSCS discriminates, in directions predicted by theory, between patient and non-patient groups, between alcoholics and non-alcoholics, between deliquents and non-deliquents, and between first offenders and repeated offenders in penal institutions (Fitts, 1965a, 1968; Hamner, 1968). Furthermore, there is some evidence that the Scale discriminates among different types and degrees of psychological disturbances. Concurrent validity data is evinced by the results of a number of correlation studies with some of the more widely accepted personality measures.

Construct validity of the Scale, in addition to being supported by reflecting predicted changes resulting from psychotherapy, has been further investigated in two factor-analytic studies. Vacchiano & Strauss (1968) administered the Scale to 260 college students, and ran a factor analysis on items only, as some items contribute to more than one subscale. They extracted 22 factors which accounted for 66% of the total variance. The emergence of 20 interpretable factors suggested that the TSCS is a complex measure of self, and that it does provide the five proposed measures of self-concept composing the external frame of reference. The authors suggested that failure to find clear indications of the three measures of the internal frame of reference may have been more a reflection of the population than the Scale. They conclude that "the factor analysis performed would substantiate the construct validity of the TSCS (Vacchiano & Strauss, 1968, p. 326)." Rentz and White (1967) factor analyzed scores on 12 of the principal subscales and extracted only two independent factors. It appears, however, that they may have failed to consider the spuriously high intercorrelations produced when clusters of the same items contribute to the scores on two or more scales.

In summary, the TSCS was selected for use in this research because it does tap multiple aspects of self, it was appropriate for the subjects under consideration, and it appeared to be technically more sound than the majority of similar instruments.

Two Factor Index of Social Position (ISP). The problem of identifying the social class membership of individuals is one upon which there is no consensus and considerable confusion (Pfautz, 1953). The same writer indicates that the most popular single criterion for assigning people to social classes is occupation, and that such a single criterion is especially notable in studies concerned with only one or two classes. Wayland (1963) adds support by reporting that although wealth and income are good indicators of social class, the way one makes his living is more important. Furthermore, he adds that as education is associated with occupations, values, aspirations, and life-style, educational level is another good indicator of class position. More specifically, Tumin (1967) reports evidence that certain criteria are more significant than others when the dependent variable is specified. When dealing with life-chances, such as mental illness, the factors of occupation, income, and education are likely to be most useful. Such appeared to be borne out in a study of 97 school systems in the State of New York (New York State Department of Education, 1959), which revealed that the educational and occupational status of the parents (particularly the father) is reflected in the student's attitudes toward school, and his educational motivation and aspirations. In addition, Super (1957, p. 19) reports high correlations, generally in the .90's between occupation and other social status indices.

In some cases, as in the study herein reported, income data is not easily attainable. When this is so, educational level is suitable to use, since education and income are very closely related (Tumin, 1967). Data from the U. S. Department of Commerce (1965, 1966) demonstrate the high magnitude of this relationship. Specifically regarding the disadvantaged segment of the population, Gottlieb (1967) found that 63% of the fathers and 65% of the mothers of 1,327 Job Corps enrollees had less than a complete high school education, with 29% of the fathers not having completed grade school. From a more representative population of the poor, Lampman (1966) reports that the leading characteristic distinguishing the poor from the nonpoor is limited education. Of all poor family heads, 61% have no more than an eighth-grade education.

On the basis of the preceeding evidence, and due to the need for an objective and uncomplicated procedure which could be used with a large sample of students, the Two Factor Index of Social Position (ISP) (Hollingshead, 1957) was selected for use in this investigation. On the basis of information regarding the occupation and education of the head of the household, statistical procedures were used to classify each student as being either disadvantaged or non-disadvantaged. Specifics of the procedures and criteria employed are delineated in

Chapter III of this report. Suffice it to say, that the ISP was developed by Hollingshead in conjunction with the more widely reputed Index of Social Position (Hollingshead & Redlich, 1958), the rationale for which has been validated by the use of factor analysis.

Summary of the Chapter

The literature reviewed in this chapter indicated a concensus of professional opinion that a significant characteristic of disadvantaged youth is a low or negative self-concept. Research in this area, however, has not conclusively demonstrated this to be so. This may, in part, be due to a masking of significant self-concept differences as a function of such variables as area of residence. That is, other major factors may be interacting with low socio-economic status to influence self-concept in varying ways. Failure to consider such influences may have resulted in the collectively nebulous research findings to date. Thus, the study herein reported is an attempt to clarify the possible independent or interactive effects of the variables of social class, sex, and community type upon self-concept. Such information regarding the nature of and influences upon the self-concepts of disadvantaged young people, should make possible greater insight into their behavior, and suggest possible means for facilitating their transcendence of the culture of poverty.

CHAPTER III

THE PLAN OF THE STUDY

The Problem Studied

The specific problem studied in this investigation was of a multi-dimensional nature as follows:

1. To determine whether there are differences between the self-concepts of disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged high school students within and/or among four different types of communities, differentiated along rural-urban and economic dimensions.

2. To determine whether self-concepts of disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged high school students differ according to the variable of sex.

3. To determine whether self-concepts of disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged high school students differ according to the variable of grade in school.

4. To describe the nature of any occurring self-concept differences.

For further elaboration upon the problem and definition of terms, the reader is referred to Chapter I.

The Population Studied

The population which was sampled in this investigation consisted of all students in grades 9,10, and 11 in four Maine communities. These communities, for research purposes, were labeled "typical urban", "affluent suburban", "rural non-depressed", and "rural depressed".

Selection and classification of communities.

Differentiation of the four Maine communities selected to represent the four previously indicated community types was based on the factors of population size and economic characteristics. The first sorting of communities was made on the basis of total population, such that two groups were formed. One group consisted of the 17 urban places having a 1960 population within the range of 2,500 to 5,000; the other group was composed of the 3 urban places having a 1960 population in excess of 30,000 (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1963). Communities of less than 2,500 were not included due to a lack of sufficient data. Demographic information concerning these two groups of communities is presented in Appendix B, Table A.

The next procedure was to isolate 3 communities from the first group -- one each to represent the rural depressed, rural non-depressed, and affluent suburban communities. In so doing, the 17 towns were ranked from high to low according to median family income. This distribution of ranks was then trichotomized into High, Medium, and Low median family income groups such that these groups contained 5,7, and 5 communities respectively. A Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance computed on these three groups of community ranks revealed significant differences among the groups as indicated in Table 1. Maintaining the same three groups of communities, each community was ranked according to the percentage of families having an annual income less than $3,000. As reported in Table 1, the Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance again revealed significant differences among the three groups. Using as a third criterion, the percentage of families having an annual income greater than $10,000, the same procedure for ranking and testing for significant differences was again followed. The results reported in Table 1 once more reveal the significant differences found.

TABLE 1

Kruskal-Wallis One-Way Analysis of Variance
for 17 Communities

Kruskal-Wallis Values	Group of Communities			Value of H	df
	High Median Income	Medium Median Income	Low Median Income		
	Median Family Income				
Sum of Ranks	15	63	75	15.48***	2
	Percentage of Families with Income < $3,000				
Sum of Ranks	67	69	17	11.43**	2
	Percentage of Families with Income > $10,000				
Sum of Ranks	34	52	67	6.60*	2

* p<.05.
** p<.01.
*** p<.001.

The criteria for further discriminating among these 17 communities were that the affluent suburb should rank as high as possible on median family income and on percentage of families with incomes greater than $10,000, and as low as possible on percentage of families with incomes less than $3,000. It should also be a primarily residential community adjacent to a city. The rural non-depressed community should be as near to the median of the rankings of the 17 communities as possible on each of these dimensions. Using the same parameters, the rural depressed community should rank as low as possible on median family income and percentage of families with incomes greater than $10,000, and as high as possible on the percentage of families with incomes less than $3,000.

Following this rationale, visual inspection of the rankings of the 17 towns in the three groups led to the selection of 2 communities from the High median family income group, 2 communities from the Medium group, and 3 communities from the Low group. (The inclusion of 3 communities in the Low group was due to the extreme proximity of their rankings on each of the selection criteria). As indicated in Table A of Appendix B, these 7 towns were respectively N and E, K and J, and H, C, and Q. With the 7 selected communities still existing in their three original categories, the previously indicated procedures of testing for differences among the groups were again employed. The Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance was replicated on the community ranks with each of the three economic criteria. As indicated in Table 2, significant differences were maintained among the three groups on each criterion.

Selection of one community from each of the three groups to represent respectively the affluent suburban, rural non-depressed, and rural depressed communities was accomplished by employing the same rationale as was used in reducing the number of communities from 17 to 7. Using this rationale, visual inspection of the rankings made it possible to select three of the communities to be used in this investigation.

The typical urban community was selected from among the three Maine urban places having populations in excess of 30,000. These communities are indicated in Table A of Appendix B as X, Y, and Z.

It was desired to select a city which was as close as possible to the median rank of these three communities on the dimensions of median family income, percentage of families with incomes of less than $3,000 per year, and percentage of families with incomes greater than $10,000 per year. Secondarily the selected city should, on the preceeding dimensions, have some proximity to the median rankings of all Maine urban places with populations of 10,000 or more. Visual inspection of the rankings led to the retention of two of the three initially selected communities -- cities X and Z. As these two cities were very similar in terms of the three selection criteria, city X was selected for inclusion in this investigation because of greater certainty of accessibility to students and cooperation in carrying out the study.

TABLE 2

Kruskal-Wallis One-Way Analysis of Variance for 7 Communities

Kruskal-Wallis Values	Group of Communities: High Median Income	Group of Communities: Medium Median Income	Group of Communities: Low Median Income	Value of H
Median Family Income				
Sum of Ranks	3	7	18	4.77*
Percentage of Families with Income < $3,000				
Sum of Ranks	3	7	18	4.77*
Percentage of Families with Income > $10,000				
Sum of Ranks	3	7	18	4.77*

* $p<.05$.

In summary, of the four communities selected, three had populations which were approximately the same size, but differed along three economic dimensions. The fourth community differed from the other three on both population size and economic dimensions. The ensuing section presents a more detailed description of each of these communities.

Description of communities. The _typical urban community_ used in this investigation had a 1960 population of 38,912, and as such, was the third largest city in Maine. The population has increased steadily from nearly 30,000 in 1940 to 31,500 in 1950, with estimates exceeding 42,000 for the year 1966 (U. S. Department of Commerce, 1963; State of Maine, Department of Health & Welfare, undated). The city is an eastern Maine center for business, manufacturing, transportation, education, and cultural activities. Of the civilian labor force, 5.8% were unemployed in 1960. Manufacturing industries accounted for 15.2% of the employed persons, while 52.5% were employed in white-collar occupations. Census data from 1960 further indicates that 55.4% of the population 25 years old and over completed at least 4 years of high school -- the median number of completed school years for this group being 12.2. The median family income in this city, as of the 1960 Census, was $5,353, with 16.9% of these families earning less than $3,000 per year, and 11.6% earning more than $10,000 (U. S. Department of Commerce, 1963).

The _affluent suburban community_ in this study was a coastal town located adjacent to Maine's largest city, and had a 1960 population of 3,517. A population increase of nearly 700 people from 1950 to 1960, and a projected increase of 20% for the 6 years following

1960 indicate the growth of this primarily residential community (U. S. Department of Commerce, 1963; State of Maine, Department of Health & Welfare, undated). In addition to a small business center, the economic assets of the town include a number of small food processing plants, and a small boat harbor. As of the 1960 Census, 5.2% of the civilian labor force was unemployed; of those who were employed 22.6% worked in manufacturing industries. The community had the highest median family income of all communities with populations of 2,500 to 5,000 people -- $5,729. Ranked with these same 17 towns, this community had the smallest percentage of families with incomes less than $3,000 (13.8%), and the fourth highest percentage of families with incomes exceeding $10,000 (11.3%). The educational level of the community was also quite high. Of the persons 25 years old and over, 56.3% had completed 4 years of high school or more; for the same group the median school year completed was 12.2 (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1963).

The rural non-depressed community was a small, inland, Maine town of 3,951 people in 1960, and was located in the central part of the State in a predominantly farming area. The high population stability in this community is evinced by observing that the population in 1940 was 3,714 and the estimation for 1966 was 3,819. Though the population reached a high of 4,126 in 1950, its stability over nearly 30 years is rather remarkable (U. S. Department of Commerce, 1963; State of Maine, Department of Health & Welfare, undated). In addition to having a diversity of small manufacturing plants, the community provides many of the goods and services for a number of small villages and outlying rural areas. As of 1960, 43.8% of the persons 25 years old and over had completed 4 years of high school or more. Of this same group, the median number of school years completed was 11.3. In the civilian labor force, only 1.5% were unemployed, and 54.8% were working in manufacturing industries. The community's median family income in 1960 was $4,754; 22% of these families earned less than $3,000 annually, while 6.5% enjoyed an income of $10,000 or more (U. S. Department of Commerce, 1963).

The _rural depressed community_ was a small, Maine, coastal village having a 1960 population of 2,537 people. The dwindling population is reflected in the steady decline from 3,346 in 1940 to 3,123 in 1950; estimations for 1966 indicate slightly more than 1,900 people living in this community (U. S. Department of Commerce, 1963; State of Maine, Department of Health & Welfare, undated). The drastic nature of such a decline is even more apparent when observing long-term changes; the 1893 population was slightly over 5,000 people. From 1870 to the end of World War I the community supported nearly a dozen canneries, and prior to the turn of the century had more than 30 wharves serving ocean-going vessels. Today there are but two canneries and a few remaining wharves (Butwin, 1968). Some of the slack in employment has been absorbed by a few fish-meal plants, pearl-essence factories, and a woolen mill. However, these are not jobs which attract the young, and consequently the population decline continues. Moreover, the unemployment rate of 23% of the civilian labor force was the highest reported in the 1960 Census of the State of Maine. Of those who are employed some 40% work in manufacturing industries. Within the group of persons 25 years old and over only 33.6% have completed 4 years of high school or more -- the median number of school years completed being 9.8. Family incomes likewise fit the picture of a declining community; the median income in 1960 was $3,789, with 37.2% of the families earning less than $3,000, and a mere 4.3% having incomes of $10,000 or more. Of the town's 670 families, 45 earned less than $1,000 and 94 earned less than $2,000 in 1960 (U. S. Department of Commerce, 1963).

It was within each of these four communities that disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged high school students were identified for inclusion in this study.

Selection of subjects. Early in May of 1968, superintendents, high school principals, and guidance directors were asked, via a form letter, to permit students in their schools to participate in this investigation. (The reader is referred to Appendix C for a copy of this communication). Shortly thereafter, such permission was secured through a follow-up telephone call to the principal or guidance director in each of the four selected communities. A visit to each school was sufficient to make the necessary arrangements for selecting students and administering the instruments. Class lists of all students in grades 9,10, and 11 were obtained at this time.

At this point, a potential problem in selecting students became apparent. As students were to be randomly selected without prior knowledge of their social classes, it was possible that in some communities the numbers of *disadvantaged* students drawn could be so small as to introduce tenuousness into the statistical analyses and interpretations. To assure against such an occurrence, the principal or guidance director in each community was asked to identify the 10 most economically disadvantaged students within grades 9,10, and 11.

It should be emphasized that these students were not classified "disadvantaged" on the basis of having been so identified by the principal or guidance director. Rather, they were included in the larger, randomly selected pool of students, and were subjected to the same standardized classification criteria as were all students. Moreover, there was no way of identifying any student during the classification process. In this manner, the likelihood of having an adequate number of disadvantaged subjects from each community was increased.

Except for these 10 students in each school, the subjects were randomly selected from class lists such that approximately one-third of each school's sample was selected from each of the three grades. A total N of 388 students was drawn for inclusion in this investigation. Additional data regarding sample sizes and composition is reported in Table 3.

Data Gathering Procedures and Instrumentation

Late in May of 1968 the investigator traveled to each of the communities cooperating in the study and administered an Individual Data Sheet (IDS) and the Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS) to the selected students. A brief bulletin circulated in each school several days prior to the testing served to prepare the students for their encounter with the investigator. Just prior to the administration of the instruments, the researcher reiterated the purpose of the study as helping educators to learn more about students in various kinds of Maine communities. An appeal for honesty in responses was also made. Anonymity was preserved by instructing the subjects not to place their names on the test materials. The IDS and TSCS answer sheets had previously been stapled together and precoded to identify each pair as belonging together.

Administration of the instruments commenced with the Individual Data Sheet (IDS), a brief, factual questionnaire which had been constructed by the investigator for the purpose of collecting information for classifying each student as "disadvantaged" or "non-disadvantaged" according to the Two Factor Index of Social Position (ISP). The IDS had previously been pretested in a pilot study, and modified slightly so as to be more comprehensible to the students. To further allay any possible confusion, the investigator read aloud each item on the IDS and instructed the students as to the appropriate manner of indicating their responses. A specimen of the IDS may be found in Appendix A. It should be noted that though item 17 was included on the IDS, it was not used in this investigation.

Following administration of the IDS, instructions for the TSCS were read aloud to the students as they read them silently. The administration of the TSCS, an untimed instrument, completed the testing procedures. Such procedures were found to be easily accomplished within a 50 minute period.

The TSCS, which was the primary research instrument, is composed of 100 short sentences which the subjects rated on a five-point scale from completely true to completely false as they pertained to themselves. Scoring procedures on the scale generate 29 subscales. For purposes of this study, some subscales were interpreted together because they assess different aspects of the same factor -- such as defensiveness, conflict, and inconsistency. Following is a listing of the subscales, their meanings, and the interpretive combinations of these scales.

1. *Identity* -- How the individual sees himself.

2. *Self-Satisfaction* -- How the individual feels about the self he perceives.

3. *Behavior* -- How the individual perceives his own behavior.

4. *Physical Self* -- The individual's view of his body, state of health, physical appearance, skills, and sexuality.

5. *Moral-Ethical Self* -- The individual's perceptions of his moral worth, relationship to God, his feelings of being a "good" or "bad" person, and his degree of satisfaction with his religion.

6. *Personal Self* -- The individual's sense of personal worth, his feelings of adequacy as a person, and his evaluation of his personality apart from his body or his relationships to others.

7. *Family Self* -- One's feelings of adequacy, worth, and value as a family member.

8. *Social Self* -- The person's sense of adequacy and worth in his social interactions with other people in general.

9. *Total Positive* -- A composite of the eight previous scores which reflects one's overall level of self-esteem.

10. *Self Criticism* and *Defensive Positive* scores -- The former is an obvious defensiveness score developed from the L-Scale of the MMPI; the latter is a more subtle defensiveness score.

11. *True-False Ratio* -- A score which reflects response set and indicates whether the person achieves self-definition by focusing on what he is, by focusing on what he is not, or by achieving a balance of both tendencies.

12. *Net Conflict* and *Total Conflict* scores -- Indicates con- ting responses to positive and negative items within the same area

of self-perception, and as such, represent purely operational definitions of the term "conflict".

13. Total Variability, Column Variability, and Row Variability scores -- Provide an indication of the amount of variability or inconsistency among all areas of self-perception.

14. Distribution score -- A summary score of the way a person distributes his responses across the five available choices of each item on the scale; a summary of the response frequencies of 5's, 4's, 3's, 2's, and 1's.

The following five scales were empirically derived by Fitts (1965b) through item analysis such that each scale is composed of a cluster of items differentiating one group of subjects from all other groups.

15. General Maladjustment -- Differentiates psychiatric patients from non-patients regardless of the nature of the pathology.

16. Psychosis -- Differentiates psychotic patients from other groups.

17. Personality Disorder -- Differentiates persons with basic personality defects, in contrast to psychotic states, from all other groups.

18. Neurosis -- Discriminates between diagnosed psychoneurotics and other patient groups.

19. Personality Integration -- Differentiates from other groups those persons judged as average or better in terms of degree of adjustment or personality integration.

20. Number of Deviant Signs -- Another empirical measure reflecting the frequency of deviant features on all other scales. It

is the scale's best single index of psychological disturbance.

The Classification of Students

Following the administration of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS) and the Individual Data Sheet (IDS) to each student selected to participate in the study, each IDS was scrutinized by the investigator. Using the information provided on the IDS each student was classified as being either "disadvantaged" or "non-disadvantaged". The scheme for making such classifications was based on the Two Factor Index of Social Position (ISP) (Hollingshead, 1957), which determines social position on the basis of occupation and education of the head of the household. "Occupation is presumed to reflect the skill and power individuals possess as they perform the many maintenance functions in the society (Hollingshead, 1957, p. 2)." As such, an occupation is placed into one of seven categories, each of which has attached to it a score of 1 to 7 respectively. Concomitantly, "education is believed to reflect not only knowledge, but cultural tastes (Hollingshead, 1957, p. 2)", and as such, the scores range from 1 to 7, covering the range from graduate professional training to less than 7 years of school. The specific meaning of each of these categories is reported in Table 4. From these occupational and educational scale scores an Index of Social Position Score may be computed by multiplying the occupation score by a factor weight of 7, the education score by a factor weight of 4, and summing the two products. A matrix of the possible Index of Social Position Scores is presented in Table A of Appendix A. The meaning of these scores is such that the higher one's score, the lower his social position.

As in this investigation the ISP was used to dichotomize the population into those persons operationally defined as disadvantaged and those who were non-disadvantaged, only educational categories 4 through 7, and occupational categories 6 and 7 were used. These are the lowest categories in the index. The reason for this procedure is related to a criterion problem in identifying the disadvantaged, as noted by Orshansky (1967, pp. 72-76). She indicates that one may be so conservative as to be sure that every poor family selected is in fact "poor", while excluding those almost as bad off, or one may miss no one who is truly poor but catch a number of others who are not truly of low-income status. As the primary focus of this study was upon the disadvantaged, the more conservative identification posture was assumed. Therefore, the only persons identified as being disadvantaged were those living in households the head of which scored from 69 to 77 inclusive on the ISP, except for those who had been unemployed for more than 3 months, received financial assistance, and had no more than a high school education. This selection process is otherwise indicated by the three following sets of criteria for isolating disadvantaged persons.

1. ISP occupation category 6 and education category 7.
2. ISP occupation category 7 and education category 5, 6, or 7.
3. ISP occupation category 7 (due to unemployment for more than 3 months) and education category 4, 5, 6, or 7.

The meaning attached to each occupation and education category is indicated in Table 3. By employing these ISP criteria when scrutinizing each IDS, the investigator achieved dichotomization of the study population.

The resulting numbers of students in each category within each

TABLE 3

Meanings of ISP Occupation and Education Categories

Occupation Category	Meaning	Education Category	Meaning
1	Higher executives Proprietors of large concerns Major professionals	1	Graduate professional training
2	Business managers Proprietors of medium concerns Lesser professionals	2	College graduate (4 years)
3	Administrative personnel Small business owners Minor professionals	3	Partial college (1-3 years)
4	Clerical and sales workers Technicians Little business owners	4	High school graduates
5	Skilled manual workers	5	Partial high school (grade 10 or 11)
6	Machine operators Semi-skilled workers	6	Junior high school (grades 7, 8, 9)
7	Unskilled workers Relief; unemployed	7	Less than 7 years of school

TABLE 4

Classification and Sizes of Samples by Community

Item	Community				Row Totals
	Typical Urban	Affluent Suburban	Rural Non-Depressed	Rural Depressed	
Number Non-Disadvantaged	117	83	69	42	311
Number Disadvantaged	11	10	20	21	62
Sample N Used	128	93	89	63	373
Number Unusable	8	1	1	5	15
Sample N Tested	136	94	90	68	388
School Enrollment 9-11	956	200	316	162	1,634
Sample Used % of Enrollment	13	47	28	39	23

community is reported in Table 4. Though 388 students were tested, the actual sample size for this study was 373 due to the failure of 15 students to provide sufficient data on the instruments.

Hypotheses

The following statistical hypotheses were tested in order to satisfy the objectives of the study.

1. For each of the 29 TSCS subscales, there will be no differences among the mean scores for each of the four communities studied.

2. For each of the 29 TSCS subscales, there will be no differences between the mean scores of disadvantaged (D) and non-disadvantaged (ND) high school students across all communities.

3. For each of the 29 TSCS subscales, there will be no differences between the mean scores of disadvantaged (D) and non-disadvantaged (ND) high school students within each of the four types of communities.

4. For each of the 29 TSCS subscales, there will be no differences between the mean scores of disadvantaged (D) and non-disadvantaged (ND) high school students among the four types of communities.

5. There will be no differences among the mean Identity, Self Satisfaction, and Behavior scores of the disadvantaged (D) students.

6. There will be no differences among the mean Identity, Self Satisfaction, and Behavior scores of the non-disadvantaged (ND) students.

7. There will be no differences among the mean Physical Self, Moral-Ethical Self, Personal Self, Family Self, and Social Self scores of the disadvantaged (D) students.

8. There will be no differences among the mean Physical Self,

Moral-Ethical Self, Personal Self, Family Self, and Social Self scores of the non-disadvantaged (ND) students.

9. There will be no differences among the mean Total Positive scores of the male and female, disadvantaged (D) and non-disadvantaged (ND) students.

10. There will be no differences among the mean Total Positive scores of disadvantaged (D) and non-disadvantaged (ND) students when differentiated by grade in school.

11. There will be no differences between the mean of the Identity scores of disadvantaged (D) students in educational categories 6 and 7, and that of non-disadvantaged (ND) students in educational categories 1, 2, 3, and 4.

12. There will be no differences between the mean of the Self Satisfaction scores of disadvantaged (D) students in educational classes 6 and 7, and that of non-disadvantaged (ND) students in educational categories 1, 2, 3, and 4.

13. There will be no differences between the mean of the Behavior scores of disadvantaged (D) students in educational classes 6 and 7, and that of non-disadvantaged (ND) students in educational categories 1, 2, 3, and 4.

This chapter has reported the procedures used in selecting and classifying the communities and subjects involved, the procedures of data gathering, and the hypotheses generated from the problem.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Data Available for Analysis

The data collected in this investigation consisted of the scores on the 29 subscales of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS) for each of the 311 non-disadvantaged and 62 disadvantaged high school students tested. In addition, each student provided information regarding his grade in school, sex, and the occupation and level of education of the head of his household. This occupational and educational data was used to classify each student as being "disadvantaged" or "non-disadvantaged". Data concerning family income and population size was also collected for each of the four communities from which the samples of students were drawn. The four types of communities were defined in terms of this community data.

All raw data for each student is reported in its entirety in Appendix F. Frequency distribtuions of scores on each of the 29 subscales are presented in Appendix D.

Statistical Techniques Used

The statistical treatment of the data was initiated by computing mean scores on each of the 29 TSCS subscales. In keeping with the research design of the investigation, eight independent sortings of all 373 students were made along the following dimensions: (a) social class, (b) community type, (c) social class by community type, (d) sex, (e) social class by sex, (f) grade in school, (g) social class by grade in school, (h) social class by educational level of head of household. Within each category of each of the preceding dimensions a mean score was computed. Differences between or among these means were tested for significance by analysis of variance or some variant thereof. Differences were accepted as being significant if the resulting F ratios met the .05 level of confidence.

Specifically, hypotheses 1,2,3,4,9, and 10 were tested by a factorial or multiple-classification analysis of variance program. Hypotheses 5,6,7, and 8 were tested by an analysis of variance program for correlated groups. A one-way analysis of variance program was used to test hypotheses 11,12, and 13. Following these initial analyses for hypothesis 1 and for hypotheses 3 through 10, Duncan's multiple range test (Duncan, 1955) was employed to test for significant differences between individual pairs of means. Once again, differences meeting the .05 level of confidence were accepted as being significant.

Factorial analysis of variance was selected as an appropriate statistical technique because it was in accord with the rationale and design of the study in that it permitted testing for interaction effects. In addition, this technique permitted the simultaneous testing of several hypotheses. Analysis of variance for correlated groups was necessary in testing hypotheses 5 through 8 because of the likelihood of correlation between different sets of scores on the same students. Although multiple t tests could have been used instead of analysis of variance, Hays (1963, pp. 471-472) notes a problem in so doing. The use of a t test on a pair of means assumes independence, but with multiple means a complex pattern of dependency runs through the t tests. Consequently the number of degrees of freedom is actually less than the number assumed, eventuating in a greater likelihood of reaching significance by chance. There is with multiple t tests, therefore, no satisfactory way of determining how much a conclusion about any single comparison of two means is dependent upon a conclusion about any other pair of means. Analysis of variance greatly minimizes this problem in that when the degrees of freedom for the error mean square is very large, then the various F tests may be regarded as approximately independent.

Following analysis of variance on multiple means, Duncan's multiple range test (Duncan, 1955) was used to determine which pairs of a given group of means were significantly different from one another. Multiple t tests were not used because of the greater likelihood of getting significant differences by chance with this technique. Duncan's test partially avoids this problem.

For purposes of brevity and clarity, the results of Duncan's test in this study are reported by using an underlining technique. In so doing, the mean scores for a given factor are reported in order of their magnitude. Those means which are underlined by the same line do not differ significantly from one another. For purposes of clarification, the following example is given:

Means

```
  A       B       C       D
75.20   73.16   69.50   67.38
_____________
        _____________
                _____________
```

Among the four means (A,B,C, and D), the following pairs do not differ significantly because they are underlined by the same line: AB,BC,CD. The following pairs of means, which are not underlined by the same line, do differ significantly from each other: AC,AD, BD. This procedure is used in the following section, in which the results of the investigation are reported.

Specific Findings Resulting from Statistical Treatment

This section of the chapter presents the findings of the investigation by considering the 29 TSCS subscales in groups which cluster together well for interpretive purposes. The five final sections summarize the findings as they relate directly to the two primary and two secondary independent variables under scrutiny. It is in these final portions that acceptance or rejection of the null hypotheses is indicated.

It is anticipated that the reader may, in this section, need to refer to the mean scores of the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged students on each subscale. These means are reported in Table 35 in the section of the chapter headed "Social Class: General Findings". Other data necessary to the discussion are reported in the tables of the present section, with the possible exception of the cutoff scores for the upper and lower extreme TSCS ranges which are reported in Table B of Appendix A.

TSCS row scores. The three row scores are labeled Identity, Self Satisfaction, and Behavior; they reflect, respectively, how the individual sees himself, how he feels about the self he perceives, and how he perceives his own behavior.

The initial factorial analyses of variance on these three subscales revealed no significant differences among either the four communities or the disadvantaged (D) and non-disadvantaged (ND) groups of students across all communities. However, as indicated in Tables 5,6, and 7, the Duncan's multiple range test did indicate significant differences on two of these subscales. A significantly higher mean

TABLE 5

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Identity Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	835.50	278.50	2.47
Social Class	1	374.29	374.29	3.32
Interaction: CXS	3	467.44	155.81	1.38
Error	365	41,202.19	112.88	
Total	372	42,741.59		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean						Lowest Mean	
Community	Depressed 48.05		Urban 46.47		Non-Depressed 45.35		Suburban 43.99	
Community-Social Class Interaction	Dep. D 48.33	Dep. ND 47.90	Non-Dep. ND 46.96	Urb. ND 46.59	Urb. D 45.00	Sub. ND 44.16	Sub. D 42.60	Non-Dep. D 39.80

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

TABLE 6

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test
Results of Self Satisfaction Scores of Disadvantaged and
Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	261.23	87.08	0.73
Social Class	1	9.36	9.36	0.08
Interaction: CXS	3	341.85	113.95	0.95
Error	365	43,596.13	119.44	
Total	372	44,199.37		

Duncan's Test

Variables	Highest Mean						Lowest Mean	
Community	Depressed 50.21		Suburban 48.36	Non-Depressed 48.01			Urban 47.89	
Community-Social Class Interaction	Sub. D 52.50	Dep. ND 50.71	Dep. D 49.19	Non-Dep. ND 48.65	Urb. D 48.20	Sub. ND 47.87	Urb. ND 47.86	Non-Dep. D 45.80

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

TABLE 7

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Behavior Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	795.23	265.08	2.28
Social Class	1	73.85	73.85	0.64
Interaction: CXS	3	181.01	60.34	0.52
Error	365	42,357.47	116.05	
Total	372	43,359.23		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean						Lowest Mean	
Community	Urban 43.12[a]	Depressed 43.73[a]	Non-Depressed 43.26[a]	Suburban 40.06				
Community-Social Class Interaction	Non-Dep. ND 44.10[b]	Dep. D 44.33[b]	Dep. ND 43.43	Urb. ND 43.25	Urb. D 41.60	Non-Dep. D 40.35	Sub. D 40.20	Sub. ND 40.05

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

[a] Urban mean, though smaller than Depressed and Non-Depressed means, reached significance due to a relatively larger N.

[b] Mean of non-disadvantaged students in Non-Depressed community (Non-Dep.ND), though smaller than mean of disadvantaged students in Depressed community, achieved significance due to a relatively larger N.

Identity score was found for the rural depressed community than for any of the other three communities. The same direction of difference was maintained for the rural depressed community on the Self Satisfaction subscale, although none of the differences was significant. Likewise, on the Behavior subscale the rural depressed community had the highest mean score, though it was not significantly different from any of the other three communities. However, students in the typical urban community had a significantly higher mean Behavior score than did those in the affluent suburb.

The Duncan's test also revealed some differences which achieved significance when considering the interaction of communities and social classes. The data in Table 5 indicate that both the disadvantaged (D) and non-disadvantaged (ND) students in the rural depressed community had significantly higher mean Identity scores than did the disadvantaged students in the rural non-depressed community. The non-disadvantaged students in both the rural non-depressed and the typical urban communities also had significantly higher Identity scores than their disadvantaged counterparts in the rural non-depressed community. Although lacking statistical significance, the disadvantaged subjects in the affluent suburb had the second lowest Identity score among the eight interaction means. Hence, the *direction* of difference between the disadvantaged students in the affluent suburb and those in the rural depressed community is as predicted by the rationale for the study.

Table 6 indicates no significant differences among the communities, the social class, or the interaction of community and social class on the dimension of Self Satisfaction.

Although the direction of the difference between the disadvantaged students in the rural depressed community and those in the affluent suburb was as predicted on the Behavior scores, the results in Table 7 indicate that the difference was not statistically significant. However, the non-disadvantaged students in the rural non-depressed community did have a significantly higher mean Behavior score than did the non-disadvantaged in the affluent suburb--a fact that is unexplicable by the rationale of the study.

TSCS column scores. The column scores are composed of the following five aspects of the self-concept as assessed by the TSCS.

1. Physical Self-- The individual's views of his body, state of health, physical appearance, skills, and sexuality.

2. Moral-Ethical Self-- The individual's perceptions of his moral worth, relationship to God, his feelings of being a "good" or "bad" person, and his degree of satisfaction with his religion.

3. Personal Self-- The individual's sense of personal worth, his feelings of adequacy as a person, and his evaluation of his personality apart from his body or his relationships to others.

4. Family Self-- One's feelings of adequacy, worth, and value as a family member.

5. Social Self-- The person's sense of adequacy and worth in his social interactions with other people in general.

The factorial analyses of variance on these five aspects of self-concept, as reported in Tables 8,9,10,11, and 12, indicated no significant differences between the disadvantaged and the non-disadvantaged subjects on any of these subscales, with the exception of the Social Self. On this latter subscale the non-disadvantaged

TABLE 8

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of *Physical Self* Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	843.59	281.20	3.20*
Social Class	1	93.07	93.07	1.06
Interaction: CXS	3	1,023.32	341.11	3.88**
Error	365	32,105.18	87.96	
Total	372	33,993.32		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean						Lowest Mean
Community	Depressed 49.94		Urban 46.94		Non-Depressed 46.07		Suburban 45.72
Community-Social Class Interaction[a]	Dep. D 52.57	Dep. ND 48.62	Non-Dep. ND 47.48	Urb. ND 47.33	Sub. ND 45.46	Urb. D 42.30	Non-Dep. D 41.20

*p<.05.

**p<.01.

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

[a] Mean of disadvantaged students in Suburban community was 47.90. It did not differ significantly from any other mean due to a relatively smaller N in this category.

TABLE 9

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Moral-Ethical Self Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	455.83	151.94	1.18
Social Class	1	222.77	222.77	1.73
Interaction: CXS	3	629.53	209.84	1.63
Error	365	47,025.51	128.84	
Total	372	48,217.78		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean						Lowest Mean	
Community	Depressed 45.63		Non-Depressed 45.07		Urban 43.94		Suburban 42.99	
Community-Social Class Interaction	Non-Dep. ND 46.67	Dep. ND 46.07	Urb. D 45.80	Dep. D 44.76	Urb. ND 43.79	Sub. D 43.70	Sub. ND 42.90	Non-Dep. D 39.55

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

TABLE 10

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Personal Self Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	781.36	260.45	2.05
Social Class	1	17.28	17.28	0.14
Interaction: CXS	3	91.27	30.42	0.24
Error	365	46,267.29	126.76	
Total	372	47,140.76		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean							Lowest Mean
Community	Depressed 49.82	Non-Depressed 47.84	Urban 47.74	Suburban 45.41				
Community-Social Class Interaction	Dep. ND 50.26	Dep. D 48.95	Urb. D 48.80	Non-Dep. ND 48.29	Urb. ND 47.65	Sub. D 46.40	Non-Dep. D 46.30	Sub. ND 45.29

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

TABLE 11

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Family Self Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	245.90	81.96	0.59
Social Class	1	11.19	11.19	0.08
Interaction: CXS	3	120.50	40.17	0.29
Error	365	50,582.38	138.58	
Total	372	50,975.94		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean						Lowest Mean	
Community	Depressed 46.21		Urban 44.87		Non-Depressed 43.90		Suburban 43.89	
Community-Social Class Interaction	Sub. D 46.80	Dep. ND 46.38	Urb. D 46.30	Dep. D 45.86	Urb. ND 44.74	Non-Dep. ND 44.09	Sub. ND 43.54	Non-Dep. D 43.25

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

TABLE 12

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test
Results of *Social Self* Scores of Disadvantaged and
Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	283.40	94.47	0.91
Social Class	1	438.48	438.48	4.25*
Interaction: CXS	3	164.81	54.94	0.53
Error	365	37,698.20	103.28	
Total	372	38,589.90		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean						Lowest Mean	
Community	Urban 47.88		Non-Depressed 47.15		Depressed 46.60		Suburban 45.61	
Community-Social Class Interaction	Non-Dep. ND 48.33	Urb. ND 48.08	Dep. ND 46.81	Dep. D 46.19	Sub. ND 45.99	Urb. D 45.60	Non-Dep. D 43.05	Sub. D 42.50

*p<.05.

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

students scored significantly higher than did those who were disadvantaged. Moreover, as indicated in Table 12, this difference was the only one reaching statistical significance on the Social Self dimension.

Within the group of four communities, the rural depressed community had the highest mean score on four of the five subscales (Physical, Moral-Ethical, Personal, and Family) although statistical significance was achieved on only two of these four. The students in the rural depressed community scored significantly higher than those in each of the other three communities on Physical Self, and significantly higher than the students in the affluent suburban community on the Personal Self dimension.

Significant community type- social class interactions were found on three of these five subscales. The Duncan's multiple range test in Table 8 reveals that the disadvantaged subjects in the rural depressed community had a mean Physical Self score that was significantly higher than the means of five of the other seven groups. This mean did not differ significantly from the means of the non-disadvantaged subjects in the rural depressed community, and the disadvantaged subjects in the affluent suburb. Furthermore, the non-disadvantaged students in the rural depressed, rural non-depressed, and typical urban communities had significantly higher mean Physical Self scores than did the disadvantaged students in the rural non-depressed community.

The only significant difference found on the Moral-Ethical Self subscale was revealed by Duncan's test as reported in Table 9. It was found that in the rural non-depressed community the non-disadvantaged subjects had a significantly higher score that did those who were disadvantaged.

As previously indicated, the rural depressed community had a significantly higher mean Personal Self score than did the affluent suburb. A further analysis, as disclosed in Table 10, revealed that a possible significant interaction between community type and social class was largely responsible for this difference. That is, a significant difference was found between the non-disadvantaged students in these two communities, while such was not the case with their disadvantaged counterparts.

Hence, students in the rural depressed community scored higher on four of these five aspects of self than did students in any of the other communities. Within this rural depressed community the non-disadvantaged students tended to score slightly higher than did their disadvantaged counterparts, though within the rank ordering of the eight means for community- social class interaction these two groups maintained an unusual proximity to each other. On the other hand, students in the affluent surburban community scored lower than the other three communities on these five aspects of self-concept. However, statistically significant differences between disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged subjects in the affluent suburb were non-existant. Another notable, and surprising, phenomenon was the obvious divergence in the relative rankings of the means of the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged students in the rural non-depressed community. However, such discrepancies achieved statistical significance on only two of the five subscales under scrutiny. One caution needs to be made explicit at this point. Any generalization from or interpretation of such directional tendencies as have been herein described must be made only with an attitude of tentativeness and with full cognizance of the lack of statistical significance.

TSCS total positive. The Total Positive subscale yields a composite score of the previously discussed row and column scores. It is regarded by the author of the TSCS as one of the most important single scores in the scale (Fitts, 1965b). Essentially the Total Positive subscale reflects the individual's overall level of self-esteem.

The factorial analysis of variance and Duncan's test, reported in Table 13, disclosed no significant differences of any kind on this subscale. It appears likely that this lack of statistical significance may be due to the existence of compensating differences within the various row and column scores of which the Total Positive score is composed. This would seem to indicate the greater efficacy of a multiple-score, self-concept instrument over one yielding a single score; namely, that differences which may be cancelled out in a single score can be isolated when several scores are generated. As one might expect, the directional tendencies reported in the previous portion of this section continue to be evident in the means of the Total Positive subscale. That is, the mean for the rural depressed community is the highest, and that for the affluent suburb is the lowest. The means of the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged subjects within the rural depressed community are adjacent to each other in rank. Lastly, there is a marked disparity between the ranks of the means of the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged students within the rural non-depressed community. Regarding these observations, adherence

TABLE 13

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Total Positive Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	476.68	158.89	1.53
Social Class	1	105.62	105.62	1.01
Interaction: CXS	3	271.17	90.39	0.87
Error	365	37,998.28	104.10	
Total	372	38,786.83		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean						Lowest Mean	
Community	Depressed 47.35	Urban 45.70		Non-Depressed 45.55			Suburban 44.06	
Community-Social Class Interaction	Dep. ND 47.36	Dep. D 47.33	Non-Dep. ND 46.61	Urb. ND 45.79	Sub. D 45.40	Urb. D 44.60	Sub. ND 43.90	Non-Dep. D 41.90

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

to the caution previously stated is no less important.

Defensiveness. The factor of defensiveness was assessed by two TSCS subscales -- Self Criticism and Defensive Positive. The Self Criticism score is a measure of obvious or more overt defensiveness such that high scores indicate a normal, healthy openness, while low scores reflect more defensiveness. Extremely high scores are frequently indicative of a lack of sufficient defenses such that the individual may be pathologically undefended.

The analysis of variance on the Self Criticism subscales indicated a significantly higher mean for the non-disadvantaged students than for those who were disadvantaged. This would seem to point up somewhat more defensiveness on the part of the disadvantaged subjects, although the difference between these two groups is not extreme. Further consideration of the findings in Table 14 revealed differences among the four communities which achieved statistical significance. The Duncan's multiple range test showed the difference to lie with the affluent suburban community, which has a mean Self Criticism score that is significantly higher than the mean of each of the other three communities. This finding appears to indicate the existence of comparatively less defensiveness on the part of the students in the affluent suburb regardless of their social class. When social class was considered within each of the communities, a possible significant interaction effect was observed. The non-disadvantaged subjects in the affluent suburb had a score that was significantly higher than any other interaction mean except for their own disadvantaged counterparts. Hence, it seems that defensiveness in this self-report was minimized in the non-disadvantaged, affluent suburban students.

TABLE 14

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Self Criticism Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	1,164.59	388.20	4.84*
Social Class	1	848.64	848.64	10.57*
Interaction: CXS	3	166.79	55.60	0.69
Error	365	29,294.35	80.26	
Total	372	31,757.20		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean						Lowest Mean	
Community	Suburban 54.92	Urban 51.02		Non-Depressed 50.58			Depressed 49.48	
Community-Social Class Interaction	Sub. ND 55.00	Sub. D 54.30	Non-Dep. ND 51.84	Urb. ND 51.47	Dep. ND 50.76	Dep. D 46.90	Non-Dep. D 46.25	Urb. D 45.60

*p<.01.

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

TABLE 15

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Defensive Positive Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	659.73	219.91	2.49
Social Class	1	311.01	311.01	3.52
Interaction: CXS	3	65.74	21.91	0.25
Error	365	32,244.40	88.34	
Total	372	33,483.30		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean							Lowest Mean
Community	Depressed 51.98	Urban 49.16	Non-Depressed 49.10	Suburban 47.19				
Community-Social Class Interaction	Dep. D 54.52	Dep. ND 50.71	Sub. D 50.50	Urb. D 50.30	Non-Dep. D 50.30	Urb. ND 49.07	Non-Dep. ND 48.75	Sub. ND 46.80

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

The second measure of defensiveness, Defensive Positive, is a more subtle assessment. High scores on this subscale (T scores above 65) indicate a positive self-report stemming from defensive distortion, while low scores (T scores below 34) signal a lack of sufficient defenses for maintaining even minimal self-esteem.

Although statistically significant differences were not obtained from the analysis of variance in Table 15, the results of Duncan's test on the four community means supported the findings on the Self Criticism subscale. The significant difference between the rural depressed and the affluent suburban communities pointed up the existence of somewhat less defensiveness in the latter students than in the former. The meaning of this difference was illuminated when considering the differences among the interaction means. The disadvantaged students in the rural depressed community showed significantly greater defensiveness than did the non-disadvantaged in the typical urban, rural non-depressed, and affluent suburban communities.

Although statistical significance is lacking, certain directional tendencies reflected in these two subscales should be observed. The least amount of defensiveness on the Self Criticism subscale is indicated by the non-disadvantaged groups, as they tend to rank higher among the eight interaction means. These same groups also seem to express the least amount of subtle defensiveness on the Defensive Positive subscale by virtue of their tendency toward lower rankings among the interaction means. However, closer scrutiny reveals some interesting discrepancies from these general tendencies. The Self Criticism mean of the disadvantaged students in the affluent suburb ranks among the means of the four groups of non-disadvantaged students, and is, in fact, the second highest of the eight means. This same group of disadvantaged, suburban subjects tends to cluster with the other three groups of disadvantaged students on the Defensive Positive subscale. It may be, therefore, that disadvantaged, suburban students employ relatively less obvious defensiveness but relatively more subtle defensiveness as they go about maintaining their self-concepts.

The reader's attention is drawn to still another such discrepancy. The non-disadvantaged students in the rural depressed community ranked at the juncture of the clusters of non-disadvantaged and disadvantaged groups on the Self Criticism subscale, while clearly locating in the domain of the disadvantaged groups on the Defensive Positive subscale. Thus, it appears that the non-disadvantaged subjects in the rural depressed community tended to be somewhat more like other non-disadvantaged students in terms of obvious defensiveness, but tended even more strongly to be like the disadvantaged students in subtle or covert defensiveness.

Response set. The measure of response set on the TSCS is the True-False Ratio subscale which is a ratio of the number of responses of "completely-" or "mostly true" to those of "completely-" or "mostly false".

The only statistically significant finding on this subscale, as reported in Table 16, was that the disadvantaged subjects scored higher than did those who were non-disadvantaged. This appears to indicate a propensity of the disadvantaged to respond more affirmatively than the non-disadvantaged, regardless of the positive or negative tone of the item. Such a finding may also be interpreted to

TABLE 16

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of True-False Ratio Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	244.82	81.61	0.58
Social Class	1	712.26	712.26	5.10*
Interaction: CXS	3	520.54	173.51	1.24
Error	365	50,967.07	139.64	
Total	372	52,492.10		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean						Lowest Mean	
Community	Depressed 56.35	Urban 54.89	Suburban 54.18	Non-Depressed 53.68				
Community-Social Class Interaction	Dep. D 60.71	Sub. D 58.30	Non-Dep. D 57.50	Urb. ND 55.10	Dep. ND 54.16	Sub. ND 53.69	Non-Dep. ND 52.58	Urb. D 52.40

*p<.05.

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

mean that the disadvantaged are somewhat more able to define themselves by focusing upon what they are than by rejecting what they are not. The non-disadvantaged subjects appear to be more able to achieve a balance of these tendencies of endorsement and rejection. In any event, the meaning of this difference must be interpreted with full realization that the means of both groups were within the extreme limits of this subscale. For consideration of these limits the reader is referred to Table B of Appendix A. Attention is drawn to the fact that among the eight interaction means in Table 16, the means of the disadvantaged students in the rural depressed, the suburban, and the rural non-depressed communities more nearly approach the upper extreme of this subscale than do any of the other interaction means.

The meaning of the True-False Ratio score is enhanced when the positive and negative tones of the TSCS items are considered. Such is accomplished through attending to the Conflict scores.

Conflict. The term "conflict" as used in the TSCS is purely operational in the sense that it represents the extent to which the subject's responses to positive items contradict or conflict with his responses to negative items within the same area of self-perception. Each such area is composed of a cluster of six items, three of which are positive in nature and three are negative. The amount of conflict in each cluster of items is determined by the difference between the sums of the three positive and the three negative items -- that is, the value of P minus N. Hence, these differences have either a positive or a negative value attached to them.

Interpretation of these statistical representations of conflict is accomplished in two ways, each of which sums the differences calculated for each cluster of items. A Net Conflict score is computed by algebraically summing the plus and minus differences. A positive Net Conflict score indicates a tendency of the subject to overaffirm his positive attributes; a negative score indicates over-denial of negative attributes within each area of self-concept. As this score is indicative of directional trends in conflict, it is possible for positive and negative differences to cancel each other out, thus masking differences which do, in fact, exist. Hence, it is also important to determine the total amount of conflict in a subject's self-concept regardless of the directional aspects. Such is achieved by computing a Total Conflict score -- the non-algebraic sum of the discrepancies within each item cluster. This absolute value represents the magnitude of the conflict within each area of self-perception regardless of directional trends. High scores, those approaching or exceeding the cut-off point at the upper extreme, indicate confusion, contradiction, and general conflict in self-concept. Low scores indicate clarity and integrity unless they exceed the lower extreme cut-off, where extreme rigidity, artificiality, and possible defensiveness are reflected.

The analysis of variance and Duncan's test results reported in Table 17 indicated no statistically significant differences among any of the community or social class groups on the Net Conflict subscale, although the disadvantaged subjects in the rural depressed and rural non-depressed communities tended to score highest on this dimension. However, any possible significance of this tendency is minimized when one considers that the raw score range of these eight interaction means was only from -2 to +5, scores that are well within the normal

TABLE 17

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Net Conflict Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	36.19	12.06	0.11
Social Class	1	265.46	265.46	2.45
Interaction: CXS	3	197.44	65.81	0.61
Error	365	39,511.10	108.25	
Total	372	40,002.67		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean							Lowest Mean
Community	Urban 54.52	Non-Depressed 54.45	Depressed 54.43	Suburban 53.84				
Community-Social Class Interaction	Dep. D 57.24	Non-Dep. D 57.15	Sub. D 54.90	Urb. ND 54.61	Sub. ND 53.71	Non-Dep. ND 53.67	Urb. D 53.40	Dep. ND 53.02

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

TABLE 18

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test
Results of Total Conflict Scores of Disadvantaged and
Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	1,010.38	336.79	2.96*
Social Class	1	596.43	596.43	5.25*
Interaction: CXS	3	60.86	20.29	0.18
Error	365	41,503.05	113.71	
Total	372	43,249.77		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean							Lowest Mean
Community	Suburban 56.67	Depressed 56.44	Urban 53.12	Non-Depressed 53.11				
Community-Social Class Interaction	Dep. D 59.38[a]	Sub. D 60.60[a]	Urb. D 56.90	Sub. ND 56.19	Dep. ND 54.98	Non-Dep. D 54.60	Urb. ND 52.80	Non-Dep. ND 52.68

*p<.05.

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

[a] Mean of disadvantaged suburban students (Sub. D), though higher than mean of disadvantaged depressed community students (Dep. D), was not significantly different from other means. This was due to the relatively small N in the Sub. D category as compared with the Dep. D category.

limits indicated in Table B of Appendix A.

Analysis of the Total Conflict scores, which is reported in Table 18, indicated statistically significant differences between the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged students. The mean for the disadvantaged was not only higher, but also approached rather closely the upper limit of extreme scores on this subscale. It was also found that the affluent suburban community scored significantly higher on this dimension than did the typical urban and the rural non-depressed communities. As might be suspected from these two findings, the disadvantaged students within the rural depressed and affluent suburban communities scored higher on Total Conflict than did any of the other six community-social class interaction groups. However, statistical significance among these eight means was achieved only between the disadvantaged students in the rural depressed community and the non-disadvantaged in the typical urban and rural non-depressed communities.

In light of these findings (summarized in Tables 17 and 18) it appears that the subjects composing the sample for this study were not differentiated on the basis of directional conflict within specific aspects of their self-concepts, regardless of whether they were sorted by community type, social class, or the interaction of these two variables. However, this relative lack of directional conflict should not be construed to communicate non-existence of conflict, for when the magnitude of conflict was analyzed without cognizance of its direction, certain differences became more apparent. The disadvantaged evinced more conflict in their self-concepts than did the non-disadvantaged. Students in the affluent suburb likewise demonstrated more conflict than did those in the typical urban and rural non-depressed communities. In particular, the disadvantaged students in the rural depressed and affluent suburban communities exhibited conflict within their self-concepts that bordered on the upper limit of extreme scores on the Total Conflict subscale. Hence, there seems to be the most confusion and contradiction in the self-concepts of the disadvantaged students, students in the affluent suburb, and especially in the disadvantaged students in the rural depressed community.

Inconsistency. In contrast to the previously-considered conflict scores, which reflect conflict between positive and negative items within the same area of self-concept, inconsistency refers to the amount of variability from one area of self-concept to another. Such variability is measured by three subscales. The Column Variability subscales summarizes variations across the dimension of Physical, Moral-Ethical, Personal, Family, and Social Self. Row Variability, on the other hand, reflects variability among the Identity, Self Satisfaction, and Behavior subscales. Furthermore, the Row and the Column Variability scores are combined to yield a composite Total Variability score.

High scores on these scales reflect high variability with little unity or integration of the self-concept. In such cases, certain areas of the self may be compartmentalized and viewed as quite apart from other aspects of the self. Low scores, especially those below a T score of 25, indicate variability so low as to approach rigidity. Well-integrated people usually score below the T-score mean of 50, but above the boundary of 25 at the lower extreme.

The findings reported in Tables 19,20 and 21 disclose no significant differences among any of the community type, social class,

TABLE 19

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Total Variability Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	175.99	58.66	0.54
Social Class	1	152.10	152.10	1.41
Interaction: CXS	3	294.56	98.19	0.91
Error	365	39,466.43	108.13	
Total	372	40,109.24		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean							Lowest Mean
Community	Suburban 52.74	Depressed 51.30	Urban 51.03	Non-Depressed 50.92				
Community-Social Class Interaction	Sub. ND 52.93	Non-Dep. ND 52.40	Dep. D 51.86	Sub. D 51.20	Urb. ND 51.14	Dep. ND 50.45	Urb. D 49.70	Non-Dep. D 47.50

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

TABLE 20

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Column Variability Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	242.00	80.67	0.70
Social Class	1	148.19	148.19	1.29
Interaction: CXS	3	100.82	33.60	0.29
Error	365	41,802.96	114.53	
Total	372	42,273.10		

Duncan's Test

	Suburban	Depressed	Non-Depressed	Urban
Community	52.39	51.52	50.83	50.45

	Sub. D	Sub. ND	Dep. ND	Non-Dep. ND	Dep. D	Urb. ND	Urb. D	Non-Dep. D
Community-Social Class Interaction	52.40	52.38	52.02	51.67	50.52	50.50	49.90	47.95

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

TABLE 21

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Row Variability Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	485.77	161.92	1.45
Social Class	1	383.00	383.00	3.44
Interaction: CXS	3	419.71	139.90	1.26
Error	365	40,619.88	111.29	
Total	372	41,949.82		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean							Lowest Mean
Community	Suburban 52.89	Depressed 50.60	Urban 50.24	Non-Depressed 49.85				
Community-Social Class Interaction	Sub. ND 53.53	Dep. D 51.43	Non-Dep. ND 51.04	Urb. ND 50.39	Dep. ND 50.19	Urb. D 48.50	Sub. D 47.60	Non-Dep. D 45.75

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

or interaction means except for one. On the factor of Row Variability the non-disadvantaged subjects in the affluent suburb had a significantly higher score than did the disadvantaged subjects in the rural non-depressed community. Interpretation of this difference is, at best, difficult. However, it may fit with two trends which seem to be common to all three of these subscales. Specifically, the affluent suburban and rural depressed communities ranked highest, and in the same order, on each variability subscale. In addition, the non-disadvantaged subjects tended to have a higher mean on each of these subscales than did the disadvantaged subjects, though the differences were not statistically significant. Hence, the significant difference between the Row Variability means of the non-disadvantaged, affluent suburban students and the disadvantaged students in the rural non-depressed community may support the credibility of these two trends, though lack of statistical significance does not permit one to extend these trends beyond the conjectural level.

Certainty. The degree of certainty one possesses regarding his self-concept is measured by the distribution scores. Of these six scores, the one receiving primary consideration is labeled the Distribution Score -- a summary or composite of the way in which an individual distributes his responses across the five choices available for each TSCS item. High scores indicate definiteness, certainty, and an ability of the individual to discriminate well in what he says about himself; low scores mean the opposite, and may indicate defensiveness by employing noncommittal responses. Extreme scores in either direction are most frequently obtained from disturbed people.

The other five scores are the Distribution of Fives, Fours, Threes, Twos, and Ones. These reflect the extent of use of each of the five possible responses to each item, ranging from "completely true" to "completely false". As little attempt is made by Fitts (1965b) to interpret the meanings of the individual scores on these five subscales, they are best considered in relation to the overall Distribution Score.

The factorial analysis of variance and Duncan's test on the Distribution Score are reported in Table 22. The only significant differences revealed were between the non-disadvantaged subjects in the rural non-depressed, rural depressed, and affluent suburban communities, and the disadvantaged subjects in the rural non-depressed community. Inasmuch as the five highest of these eight interaction means were extremely close to one another, the most important aspect of these differences is that the mean for the disadvantaged students in the non-depressed community is not only significantly lower than the three previously-indicated means, but also approaches the cut-off score for the lower extreme of the norm group on this subscale. This finding fits well with the findings of the Duncan's test on interaction means in Tables 23,25, and 27. On the Distribution of Fives and the Distribution of Ones subscales this group of disadvantaged students in the rural non-depressed community had the lowest of the eight interaction means, although this group was significantly lower than any of the others on only the latter subscale. Furthermore, the mean for these students on this Distribution of Ones subscale was low enough to be approaching the lower extreme range for this subscale. On the Distribution of Threes subscale, as reported in Table 25, this same group ranked highest among the eight interaction means, although

TABLE 22

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Distribution Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	349.01	116.34	1.03
Social Class	1	204.11	204.11	1.81
Interaction: CXS	3	623.21	207.74	1.84
Error	365	41,109.79	112.63	
Total	372	42,216.80		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean						Lowest Mean	
Community	Depressed 49.21		Suburban 49.18		Non-Depressed 48.07		Urban 47.21	
Community-Social Class Interaction	Non-Dep. ND 49.70	Dep. ND 49.10	Sub. ND 49.06	Sub. D 50.20^a	Dep. D 49.43^a	Urb. ND 47.22	Urb. D 47.10	Non-Dep. D 42.45

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

[a] Means for disadvantaged students in the Suburban and the Depressed communities, though higher than the three means preceeding them, did not differ significantly from any other mean due to their relatively smaller Ns.

TABLE 23

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Distribution of Fives Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	350.11	116.70	0.96
Social Class	1	53.30	53.30	0.44
Interaction: CXS	3	297.83	99.28	0.82
Error	365	44,298.33	121.36	
Total	372	44,961.70		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean							Lowest Mean
Community	Depressed 51.86	Suburban 51.32	Non-Depressed 50.67	Urban 49.47				
Community-Social Class Interaction	Dep. D 52.24	Dep. ND 51.67	Non-Dep. ND 51.64	Urb. D 51.50	Sub. ND 51.47	Sub. D 50.10	Urb. ND 49.30	Non-Dep. D 47.35

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

TABLE 24

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Distribution of Fours Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	339.86	113.29	0.95
Social Class	1	1.38	1.38	0.01
Interaction: CXS	3	837.38	279.13	2.34
Error	365	43,489.52	119.15	
Total	372	44,703.58		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean					Lowest Mean		
Community	Urban 49.63	Suburban 49.18		Non-Depressed 47.76		Depressed 47.08		
Community-Social Class Interaction	Urb. ND 50.29[a]	Sub. D 52.90[a]	Sub. ND 48.73	Non-Dep. D 48.70	Dep. D 47.71	Non-Dep. ND 47.49	Dep. ND 46.76	Urb. D 41.90

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

[a] Mean for disadvantaged Suburban students though higher than non-disadvantaged Urban students, did not differ significantly from any other mean due to a relatively smaller N.

TABLE 25

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of *Distribution of Threes* Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	124.97	41.66	0.40
Social Class	1	521.03	521.03	4.98*
Interaction:	3	696.19	232.06	2.22
Error	365	38,195.33	104.64	
Total	372	39,549.70		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean							Lowest Mean
Community	Depressed 54.10	Urban 54.00	Non-Depressed 53.83	Suburban 52.58				
Community-Social Class Interaction	Non-Dep. D 60.20	Urb. D 57.60	Dep. D 54.52	Dep. ND 53.88	Urb. ND 53.69	Sub. ND 52.76	Non-Dep. ND 51.98	Sub. D 51.10

*p<.05.

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

TABLE 26

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Distribution of Twos Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	429.54	143.18	1.87
Social Class	1	216.47	216.47	2.82
Interaction: CXS	3	202.36	67.45	0.88
Error	365	28,005.46	76.73	
Total	372	28,966.52		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean						Lowest Mean	
Community	Non-Depressed 47.73	Urban 47.58	Suburban 46.48	Depressed 44.35				
Community-Social Class Interaction	Urb. ND 47.93[a]	Non-Dep. ND 47.56[a]	Non-Dep. D 48.30[a]	Sub. ND 46.81	Dep. ND 45.40	Sub. D 43.80	Urb. D 43.40	Dep. D 42.24

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

[a] Mean for disadvantaged students in Non-Depressed community, though higher than the two means to its left, was not significantly different due to a relatively smaller N.

TABLE 27

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Distribution of Ones Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	397.22	132.40	1.17
Social Class	1	32.91	32.91	0.29
Interaction: CXS	3	798.45	266.15	2.35
Error	365	41,329.08	113.23	
Total	372	42,529.08		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean						Lowest Mean	
Community	Depressed 49.17	Suburban 47.59	Non-Depressed 46.65	Urban 46.40				
Community-Social Class Interaction	Dep. D 49.81	Dep. ND 48.86	Non-Dep. ND 48.13	Sub. ND 47.40	Urb. D 49.70^a	Sub. D 49.20^a	Urb. ND 46.12	Non-Dep. D 41.55

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlines means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

[a] Means for disadvantaged students in the Urban and the Suburban communities, though larger than the three means to their left, were not significantly different from any mean due to their relatively smaller Ns.

statistical significance was not achieved. In fact, this mean was so high as to approach the upper extreme range for this subscale. What all these findings mean is that the disadvantaged students in the rural non-depressed community seem to stand out as being consistently more guarded and noncommittal in describing themselves than any of the other groups in this study. They tended to use fewer extreme responses of "completely true" or "completely false", but to use far more of the noncommittal "3" responses -- "partly false and partly true". Hence, the disadvantaged students in the non-depressed community appear to have been either unwilling to reveal themselves and, therefore, used "safe" responses as a defense, or they were really much less certain of the way in which they saw themselves. A review of their score on the Self Criticism subscale in Table 14 would seem to indicate that defensiveness is the more plausible reason.

Differences among the four types of communities on the dimension of certainty reflected by these six subscales are not statistically significant except for a possible difference indicated in Table 26. On the Distribution of Twos subscale the rural depressed community scored significantly lower than both the rural non-depressed and the typical urban communities. However, a certain directional trend appears to be evident as indicated in the composite Distribution Score in Table 22. The rural depressed community scored slightly higher than the other three communities on this composite score. The students in this community also scored slightly higher on the Distribution of Fives, Threes, and Ones subscales, and slightly lower on the Distribution of Fours and Twos subscales. These trends my be indicative of a tendency of these students in the depressed community to employ either extreme responses or to be relatively noncommittal, with less ability to discriminate by degrees in describing themselves. It must be understood, however, that this observation is ventured tentatively and with great caution.

Social class differences on these six scores revealed a statistically significant difference on only the Distribution of Threes subscale; the disadvantaged were higher than the non-disadvantaged subjects. However, there was a common trend among the other five subscales for the non-disadvantaged to score slightly, but not significantly, higher. In light of these two findings, it is ventured that the disadvantaged appear to be slightly less certain, more guarded, or more defensive in their self-reports than do the non-disadvantaged.

TSCS empirical scales. According to Fitts (1965b), the empirical scales were derived by item analysis such that the items included in a particular scale differentiated a specific group of subjects from all other groups. In this sense the scores on these scales are empirical, and cut across the basic TSCS classification scheme.

The General Maladjustment scale is a general index of adjustment-maladjustment in that it differentiates psychiatric patients from non-patients, but without differentiating among patient groups. The findings in this study, as reported in Table 28, were such that no significant differences existed among the communities, between the social classes, or among the community-social class interaction cells. However, the reader's attention is called to the fact that all groups in this study scored at least one-half standard deviation above the

TABLE 28

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of *General Maladjustment* Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	358.36	119.45	1.18
Social Class	1	288.99	288.98	2.85
Interaction: CXS	3	38.10	12.70	0.13
Error	365	37,009.45	101.40	
Total	372	37,623.48		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean						Lowest Mean	
Community	Suburban 58.47		Non-Depressed 57.47		Urban 56.65		Depressed 56.00	
Community-Social Class Interaction	Sub. D 60.50	Non-Dep. D 60.35	Urb. D 58.30	Sub. ND 58.23	Dep. D 57.10	Non-Dep. ND 56.64	Urb. ND 56.51	Dep. ND 55.45

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significant at the .05 level of confidence.

norm mean. Moreover, two of these groups, the disadvantaged subjects in the suburban and non-depressed communities, had mean scores closely approaching the limit of the upper extreme range on this scale. The reader is reminded that limits for the extreme high and low ranges on each subscale are reported in Table B of Appendix A.

The Psychosis scale is based on items which best differentiate psychotic patients from other groups. The factorial analysis of variance data reported in Table 29 clearly indicates that the only significant differences on this scale are between the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged groups. Further interpretation of this difference is facilitated by the Duncan's test on the eight community-social class interaction means. The significant difference between the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged seems to result largely from differences between the disadvantaged subjects in the rural depressed and non-depressed communities and the non-disadvantaged in the affluent suburban, rural non-depressed, and typical urban communities. Hence, in this investigation the disadvantaged subjects, particularly those in the rural communities, had a distinct tendency to be more like psychotic patients than did the non-disadvantaged subjects. This tendency is further supported by the fact that the means of the disadvantaged in these two rural communities closely approach the cut-off score for the upper extreme range on this subscale.

Findings on the Personality Disorder scale, as presented in Table 30, indicate no significant differences among any of the community, social class, or interaction means. Hence, within the scope of this investigation there is no reason to suspect differences in degree or occurrence of basic personality defects associated with social class

TABLE 29

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Psychosis Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	148.82	49.61	0.50
Social Class	1	1,103.10	1,103.10	11.11*
Interaction: CXS	3	136.34	45.44	0.46
Error	365	36,224.52	99.24	
Total	372	37,895.90		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean							Lowest Mean
Community	Depressed 55,87	Non-Depressed 54.57	Suburban 53.88	Urban 52.81				
Community-Social Class Interaction	Dep. D 59.67	Non-Dep. D 59.30	Urb. D 57.00	Sub. D 55.20	Dep. ND 53.98	Sub. ND 53.72	Non-Dep. ND 53.20	Urb. ND 52.46

*p<.01.

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlines means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

TABLE 30

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Personality Disorder Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	404.89	134.96	1.34
Social Class	1	113.84	113.84	1.13
Interaction: CXS	3	497.93	165.98	1.65
Error	365	36,658.47	100.43	
Total	372	37,619.71		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean							Lowest Mean
Community	Suburban 58.50	Urban 56.70	Depressed 56.13	Non-Depressed 56.03				
Community-Social Class Interaction	Non-Dep. D 60.65	Sub. ND 58.54	Sub. D 58.20	Urb. ND 56.89	Dep. D 56.48	Dep. ND 55.95	Non-Dep. ND 54.70	Urb. D 54.40

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

membership or community type. The reader's attention, however, is drawn to the fact that the disadvantaged subjects in the rural non-depressed community, once again, had the highest of the eight interaction means.

The Neurosis scale, which differentiates neurotic patients from other groups, revealed only one significant difference among the eight interaction means; the non-disadvantaged, suburban students scored significantly higher than did the disadvantaged students in the rural depressed community. The disadvantaged, suburban students, on the other hand, appear to be slightly more like the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged students in the depressed community than like their non-disadvantaged, suburban counterparts; that is, somewhat fewer neurotic tendencies. However, this difference is not statistically significant. The reader should also observe that the means on this scale, as reported in Tables 31 and 34, are all well within the normal range. Hence, the previously noted tendencies toward neuroticism must be considered with caution.

Although the other empirical scales seem to be oriented toward psychological pathology or deviancy, the Personality Integration scale has a more positive tone. This scale is composed of items which differentiated people who, by a variety of criteria, were judged as average or better in terms of level of adjustment or degree of personality integration. As can be seen in Table 32, no significant differences were found among community, social class, or interaction means on this variable. However, it should be noted that the disadvantaged subjects in the urban and non-depressed communities had the lowest means, and that these means closely approached the cut-off score for

TABLE 31

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Neurosis Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	398.20	132.73	1.52
Social Class	1	2.49	2.49	0.03
Interaction: CXS	3	467.33	155.78	1.79
Error	365	31,829.54	87.20	
Total	372	32,718.46		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean							Lowest Mean
Community	Suburban 54.41	Non-Depressed 53.02	Urban 52.70	Depressed 51.11				
Community-Social Class Interaction	Sub. ND 54.87^a	Non-Dep. D 55.80^a	Urb. D 53.60	Urb. ND 52.63	Non-Dep. ND 52.22	Dep. ND 52.00	Sub. D 50.60	Dep. D 49.33

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

[a] Mean for the disadvantaged students in the Non-Depressed community, though larger than the mean for the Suburban non-disadvantaged students, did not differ significantly from any other mean due to a relatively smaller N.

TABLE 32

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of *Personality Integration* Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	201.53	67.18	0.63
Social Class	1	180.68	180.68	1.69
Interaction: CXS	3	93.23	31.08	0.29
Error	365	39,025.97	106.92	
Total	372	39,494.17		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean							Lowest Mean
Community	Urban 46.00	Depressed 45.36	Non-Depressed 45.20	Suburban 44.11				
Community Social Class Interaction	Urb. ND 46.26	Non-Dep. ND 45.90	Dep. ND 45.76	Dep. D 44.57	Sub. D 44.40	Sub. ND 44.07	Urb. D 42.90	Non-Dep. D 42.80

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

the lower extreme range. More importantly, each of the community-social class interaction means was substantially below the norm mean, which indicates that none of these groups of students had a particularly high degree of personality integration.

The best TSCS index of psychological disturbance is the Number of Deviant Signs (NDS) score, which is simply a count of the number of deviant features on all other scores. Disturbed persons score at the extremes of the continuum on this scale about 80% of the time. Statistical analysis of the means, which is reported in Table 33, indicated no significant differences among the four communities and among the eight community-social class interaction means. However, the mean for the disadvantaged students across all communities was significantly higher than the mean for the non-disadvantaged students. Hence, when all TSCS scores are considered together, there are more indications of psychological disturbance or ill-health among the disadvantaged than among the non-disadvantaged. Two more observations must be made at this point. First, the means of all groups on this subscale were within the upper extreme range of the norm group. In fact, two groups of disadvantaged students, those in the rural non-depressed and affluent suburban communities, had mean scores which were approximately the same as the mean reported by Fitts (1965b) for 363 psychiatric patients. Secondly, note should be taken of a previously-observed phenomenon which was apparent on a majority of the TSCS subscales, and would, therefore, be expected to be evident with this composite NDS score. Specifically, a relatively large, though nonsignificant, difference exists between the ranks of the means of the non-disadvantaged and the disadvantaged subjects in the non-depressed community. Interpretations

TABLE 33

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Number of Deviant Signs Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Community	3	192.39	64.13	0.53
Social Class	1	751.67	751.67	6.19*
Interaction: CXS	3	105.07	35.02	0.29
Error	365	44,335.44	121.47	
Total	372	45,458.36		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean							Lowest Mean
Community	Depressed 61.87	Suburban 61.70	Non-Depressed 60.60	Urban 59.85				
Community-Social Class Interaction	Non-Dep. D 65.30	Sub. D 64.70	Dep. D 63.90	Urb. D 62.10	Sub. ND 61.34	Dep. ND 60.86	Urb. ND 59.66	Non-Dep. ND 59.23

*p<.05.

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

of these two observations will be dealt with in the following chapter. However, prior to interpretation and synthesis of the findings, the results heretofore presented will be summarized as they relate to the independent variables under investigation. Certain additional statistical analyses will also be presented where relevant to a particular variable.

In the event that the reader desires a more detailed view of how subjects scored on each subscale, Appendix D contains frequency distributions of scores on each TSCS subscale by community and social class. Appendix E contains frequency distributions of Total Positive scores by social class and sex, and by social class and grade in school. In addition, Appendix F contains a print-out of all data collected on each of the 373 subjects.

Community Type: General Findings

The factor of "community type" was included in this investigation primarily because it was suspected that self-concept is affected not only by the individual's social class membership, but also by the type of community in which he exists. On the basis of the findings in this study, under certain conditions such appears to be the case. As the reader can ascertain by scrutinizing Table 34, significant differences were found between at least two of the four communities on 8 of the 29 TSCS subscales. However, a caution needs to be inserted at this point; when a large number of differences are being tested for significance, some of the significant differences will likely be due to the operation of chance factors. On the dimension of "community type", 174 differences (6 for each of 29 scales) were tested for statistical significance at the .05 level. Hence, of the 16 significant differences

TABLE 34

TSCS Subscales on Which at Least Two Communities Differed Significantly. (Reference Duncan's Test in Tables 5 through 33).

TSCS Scale	Community Differences
Self Criticism	Suburban > Urban Suburban > Depressed Suburban > Non-Depressed
Total Conflict	Suburban > Urban Suburban > Non-Depressed
Identity	Depressed > Suburban Depressed > Urban Depressed > Non-Depressed
Physical Self	Depressed > Suburban Depressed > Urban Depressed > Non-Depressed
Personal Self	Depressed > Suburban
Defensive Positive	Depressed > Suburban
Behavior	Urban > Suburban
Distribution of Two's	Urban > Depressed Non-Depressed > Depressed

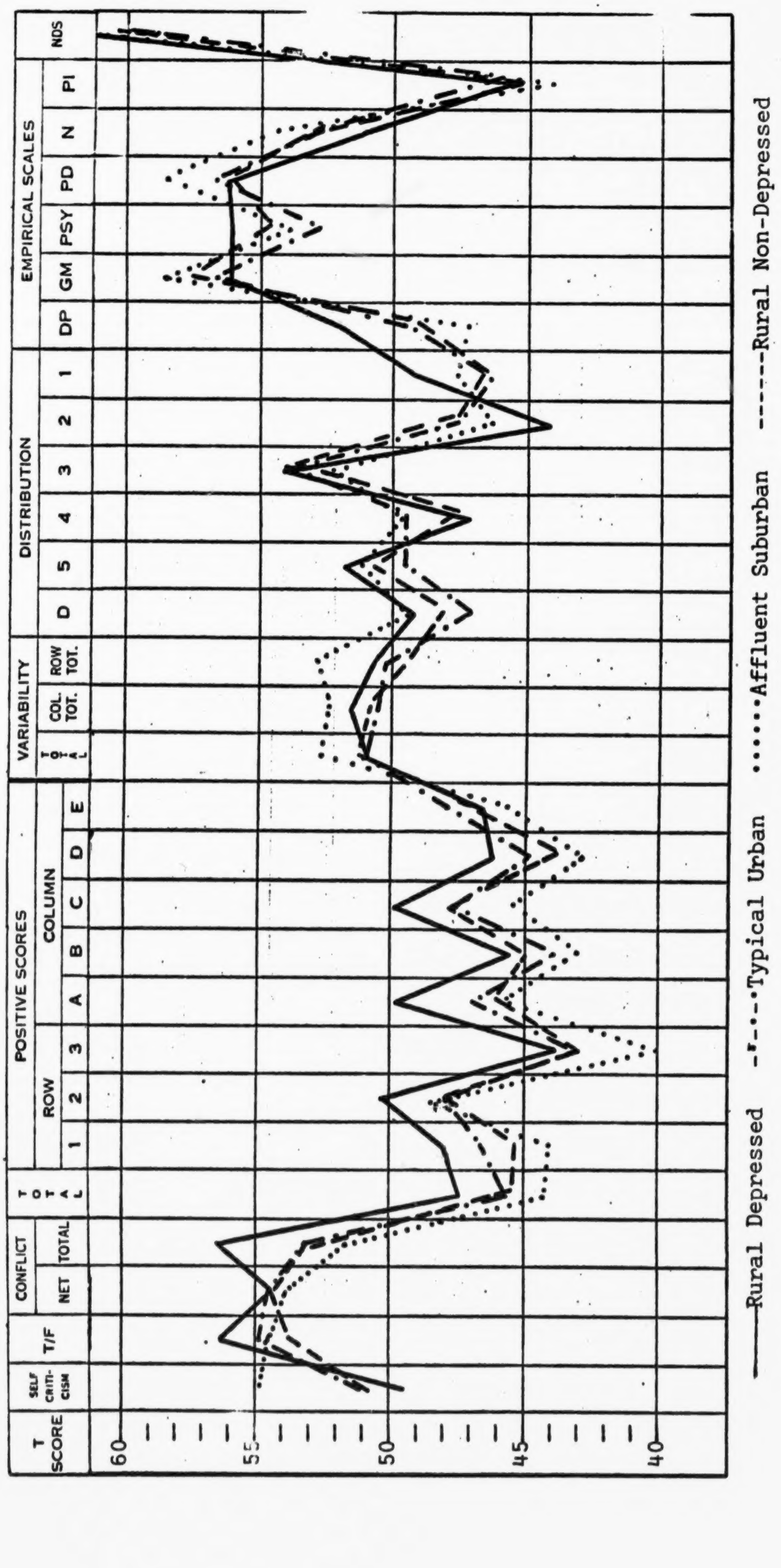

FIG. 1. Profiles of Tennessee Self Concept Scale Means for Four Communities.

which were found, approximately one-half could have occured by chance alone. With this possibility in mind, self-concept differences as related to community type will be further discussed.

Perusal of the findings reported in Table 34 indicates that the two communities at the economic extremes, the suburban and the depressed, were responsible for about two-thirds of these 16 significant differences among communities. The rationale for the study, reported in Chapter I, suggested that the students in the economically extreme communities should likewise reflect the greatest self-concept differences among other communities. Therefore, on the basis of the differences found between the affluent suburban and rural depressed communities, as well as between either of these communities and either of the other two communities, the rationale for the study seems to have been somewhat supported.

Specifically, the findings summarized in Table 34 and the graphical representation in Figure 1 indicate the following differences.

The subjects in the rural depressed community rated themselves significantly higher than did the subjects in other communities on the dimensions of Identity and Physical Self, and higher than the affluent suburban students on Personal Self. In addition, these students in the depressed community tended to score higher than other students on the other five Row and Column scores, with the exception of Social Self. Therefore, these students reported seeing themselves in essentially more positive ways than did students in the other three communities. In particular, these students in the depressed community differentiated themselves as being more positive in the physical aspects of their health, appearance, sexuality, and skills. They also reported themselves to have a higher sense of personal worth and adequacy than did the suburban students. On the other hand, the students in the affluent suburb gave evidence of significantly less defensiveness in their self-concepts, which would make their self-reports appear somewhat more authentic. In addition, the Distribution scores of the depressed community students indicated a tendency to employ either extreme discriminatory responses or to be noncommittal. This means that they tend to be more uncertain of who they are, and thus are less able to discriminate by degrees in their self-reports.

In summary, the students in the rural depressed community presented more positive general self-concepts than did those in the affluent suburb, and maintained this greater positiveness by employing more obvious and subtle defenses. Students in the typical urban and rural non-depressed communities also showed more obvious defensiveness than did the suburban students. It may be that this defensiveness was a means of reducing conflict within various aspects of their self-concepts to a point lower than was present in the suburban students.

In consequence of these findings, hypothesis 1 (no differences among the four communities) was rejected for the scales indicated in Table 34, and was not rejected for the remaining 21 scores.

Social Class: General Findings

Mean scores for the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged students across all communities are summarized in Table 35. The factorial analyses of variance, which have previously been discussed, revealed significant differences between these two groups on seven subscales, one or two of which could reasonably be expected to occur by chance.

TABLE 35

Mean Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Students on Tennessee Self Concept Scale Across All Communities

Score	Group Means		F^a	p<
	Disadvantaged	Non-Disadvantaged		
Self Criticism	47.69	52.40	10.57	.01
True-False Ratio	57.90	54.04	5.10	.05
Net Conflict	56.20	53.95	2.45	ns
Total Conflict	57.61	53.97	5.25	.05
Total Positive	44.79	45.68	1.01	ns
Identity	44.05	46.20	3.32	ns
Self Satisfaction	48.46	48.42	0.08	ns
Behavior	41.90	42.61	0.64	ns
Physical Self	46.39	47.04	1.06	ns
Moral-Ethical Self	43.05	44.50	1.73	ns
Personal Self	47.64	47.52	0.14	ns
Family Self	45.23	44.50	0.08	ns
Social Self	44.46	47.41	4.25	.05
Total Variability	49.97	51.80	1.41	ns
Column Variability	49.88	51.46	1.29	ns
Row Variability	48.46	51.34	3.44	ns
Distribution	46.88	48.51	1.81	ns
Distribution of Fives	50.16	50.71	0.44	ns
Distribution of Fours	47.93	48.78	0.01	ns
Distribution of Threes	56.33	53.09	4.98	.05
Distribution of Twos	44.67	47.21	2.82	ns
Distribution of Ones	46.98	47.27	0.29	ns
Defensive Positive	51.79	48.62	3.52	ns
General Maladjustment	58.92	56.85	2.85	ns
Psychosis	58.38	53.16	11.11	.01
Personality Disorder	57.79	56.72	1.13	ns
Neurosis	52.36	53.05	0.03	ns
Personality Integration	43.69	45.53	1.69	ns
Number of Deviant Signs	64.20	60.17	6.19	.05

[a] F ratios are from analyses of variance in Tables 5 through 33.

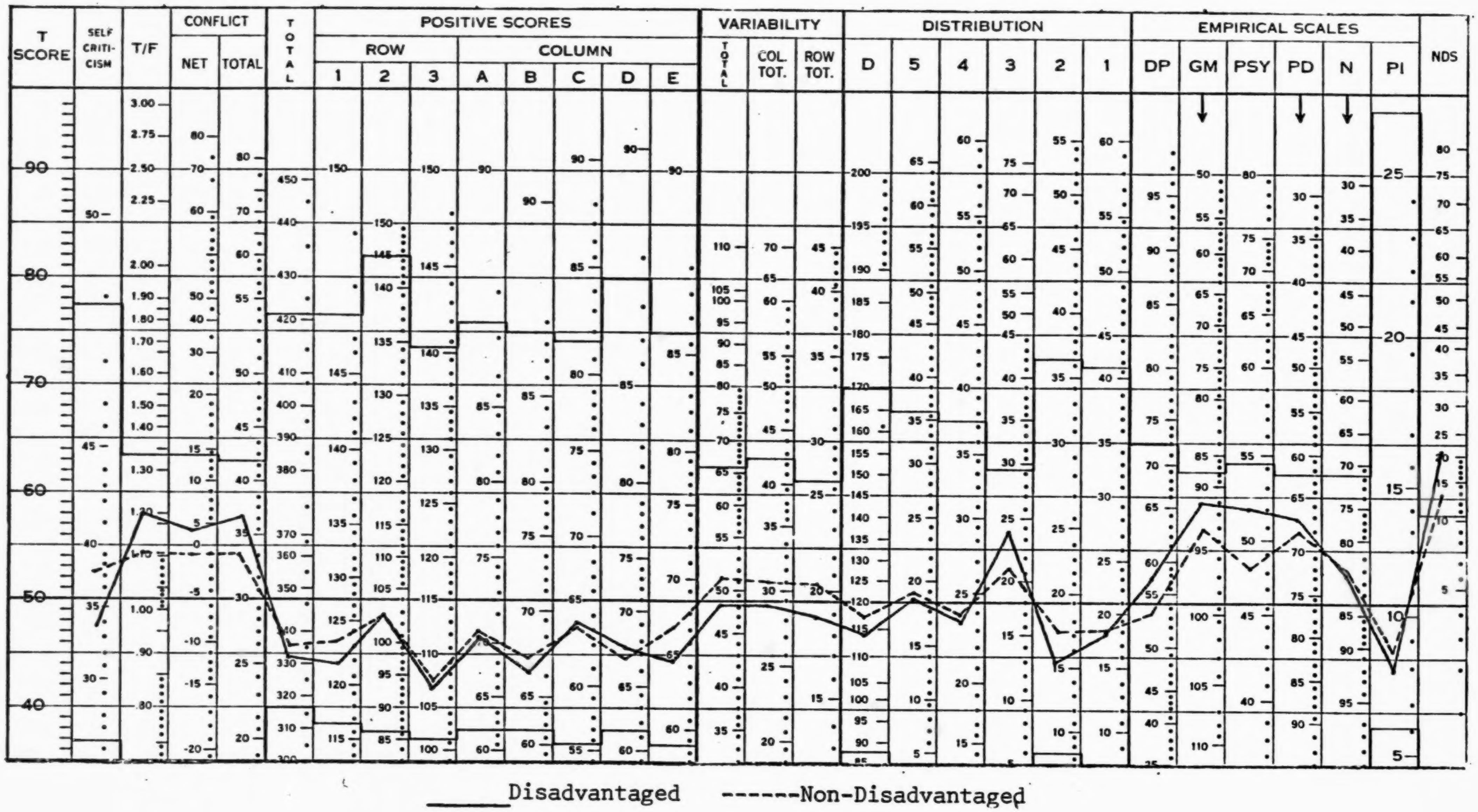

FIG. 2. Profiles of Tennessee Self Concept Scale Means for Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Groups.

A profile of the means on each subscale is afforded the reader in Figure 2.

Significant differences between the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged on the eight aspects of self-concept represented by the Row and Column scores were virtually non-existant. Only the difference on the Social Self score was statistically significant, with the non-disadvantaged subjects scoring higher. However, within groups, both the disadvantaged and the non-disadvantaged scored significantly higher on Self Satisfaction than on the Identity and the Behavior scores. In addition, the non-disadvantaged subjects scored significantly higher on Identity than on Behavior. These findings are reported in Tables 36 and 37. The results reported in Tables 38 and 39 show differences within the disadvantaged and the non-disadvantaged groups on the Column scores. The disadvantaged students rated themselves significantly higher on Personal Self than they did on Social and Moral-Ethical Self, and higher on Physical than on Moral-Ethical Self. The non-disadvantaged students portrayed a somewhat similar pattern in that they were significantly higher on Personal Self than on Moral-Ethical Self. However, for these subjects the Social Self score was significantly higher than both the Family and the Moral-Ethical Self scores. This greater sense of adequacy and worth in social interaction portrayed by this Social Self score is consistent with the previously reported difference between the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged on this dimension. Finally, the non-disadvantaged also perceived themselves more positively in terms of Physical Self than they did in terms of Family and Moral-Ethical Self. Hence, each group of subjects perceived themselves as having

TABLE 36

Two-Way Analysis of Variance for Correlated Groups and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Row Scores of Disadvantaged Subjects.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Between Rows	60	15,593.56	259.89	
Between Columns	2	1,363.50	681.75	12.27*
Residual	120	6,669.88	55.58	
Total	182	23,626.94		

Duncan's Text

Variable	Highest Mean		Lowest Mean
Row Scores	Self Satisfaction 48.46	Identity 44.05	Behavior 41.90

*p<.005.

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

TABLE 37

Two-Way Analysis of Variance for Correlated Groups and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Row Scores of Non-Disadvantaged Subjects.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Between Rows	311	80,219.00	257.94	
Between Columns	2	5,371.00	2,685.50	60.62*
Residual	622	27,557.00	44.30	
Total	935	113,147.00		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean		Lowest Mean
Row Scores	Self Satisfaction 48.42	Identity 46.20	Behavior 42.61

*p<.005.

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

TABLE 38

Two-Way Analysis of Variance for Correlated
Groups and Duncan's Multiple Range Test
Results of Column Scores of Disadvantaged Subjects.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Between Rows	60	23,218.56	386.98	
Between Columns	4	758.19	189.55	4.30*
Residual	240	10,571.06	44.05	
Total	304	34,547.81		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean				Lowest Mean
Column Scores	Personal Self 47.64	Physical Self 46.39	Family Self 45.23	Social Self 44.46	Moral-Ethical Self 43.05

*p<.01.

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

TABLE 39

Two-Way Analysis of Variance for Correlated
Groups and Duncan's Multiple Range Test
Results of Column Scores of Non-Disadvantaged Subjects.

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Between Rows	311	115,036.00	369.89	
Between Columns	4	3,020.00	755.00	13.52*
Residual	1244	69,494.00	55.86	
Total	1559	187,550.00		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean				Lowest Mean
Column Scores	Personal Self 47.52	Social Self 47.41	Physical Self 47.04	Family Self 44.50	Moral-Ethical Self 44.50

*p<.01.

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

a relatively positive sense of personal worth and adequacy, and perceived themselves in positive ways in terms of physical health, appearance, sexuality, and skills. However, in comparison to their other Column scores, the disadvantaged tended to feel less adequate and worthwhile in their interaction with other people in general than did the non-disadvantaged in relation to their other scores. In fact, it should be recalled that only on this Social Self dimension were the non-disadvantaged and disadvantaged significantly different. Also in relation to their own Column scores, the disadvantaged tended to value themselves more highly as a family member than did the non-disadvantaged. Both groups felt the least good about their moral worth and had the least amount of satisfaction with themselves in relation to their religion.

Looking beyond the Row and Column scores to those scores relating more to the procedures one uses in achieving self-definition, several more significant differences are apparent. The significantly higher Self Criticism score for the non-disadvantaged is indicative of more defensiveness on the part of the disadvantaged subjects. In Table 35, the same tendency is present in the Defensive Positive scores of these groups. In addition, indications of the True-False Ratio are that the disadvantaged achieve self-definition by focusing more upon who they are, and are less able to eliminate who they are not. This receives support from a Total Conflict score that is significantly higher than that of the non-disadvantaged subjects, indicating more confusion, contradiction, and conflict within single aspects of the self-perceptions of the disadvantaged. Such conflict probably results, at least in part, from the difficulty encountered in achieving self-definition by rejecting what they are not. The significantly higher Distribution of Threes score also fits with these findings, showing a greater degree of guardedness and hedging in responding to the TSCS items. In light of this defensiveness, confusion, and conflict on the part of the disadvantaged, it is likely that their self-concept scores are at least somewhat inflated. That is, the degree of positiveness which is reflected in their self-concept scores, though no different from the non-disadvantaged, is very likely maintained through the employment of the defensiveness found to be present.

Findings on two of the Empirical Scales appear to corroborate the suspicions of artificially elevated self-concept scores on the part of the disadvantaged. Results in Table 35 show the disadvantaged to be significantly higher on the Psychosis and Number of Deviant Signs subscales. These findings mean that the disadvantaged tended to be more like psychologically disturbed persons, and in particular more like psychotic patients, than did the non-disadvantaged. Since there is a greater tendency toward psychological disturbance, or a greater likelihood of finding disturbed persons among the disadvantaged persons in this study, and since disturbed persons do have negative self-concepts at some level of awareness, it appears even more likely that the self-reports of the disadvantaged persons in this study were inflated.

In consequence of the differences found between the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged students, hypothesis 2 (no differences between the means of the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged) was rejected for the following scales: Self Criticism, True-False Ratio, Total Conflict, Social Self, Distribution of Threes, Psychosis, and Number of Deviant Signs. Hypothesis 2 was not rejected for the remaining 22 scales.

Hypothesis 5 was rejected on the basis of the differences found among the Identity, Self Satisfaction, and Behavior scores of the disadvantaged subjects. Hypothesis 6 was likewise rejected on the basis of the differences found among the same three scores of the non-disadvantaged subject.

Rejection of hypothesis 7 resulted from the differences found among the Physical Self, Moral-Ethical Self, Personal Self, Family Self, and Social Self scores of the disadvantaged students. Differences found among the scores on these same scales for the non-disadvantaged students eventuated in the rejection of hypothesis 8.

Prior to this point in the section, analyses of self-concept differences have been between the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged groups, and between different aspects of self-concept within each of these groups. As a check on a potential problem, an additional set of analyses was performed. Since the formation of the groups of disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged students was accomplished by a dichotomization of the study population, it is conceivable that some overlapping exists between these two groups. If this is so, then the TSCS scores of these groups would likely tend to differ less than if the socio-economic characteristics of the groups were more discrete. Hence, analyses of variance were performed on the Row scores of two subsets of the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged sets of subject. Disadvantaged subjects at the lower social class extreme were selected on the basis of their membership in ISP education category 6 or 7.

TABLE 40

Analysis of Variance on Identity Scores of Disadvantaged Subjects in Education Classes Six and Seven, and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects in Education Classes One, Two, Three, and Four.

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Between Groups	1	930.62	930.62	8.36*
Within Groups	246	27,389.31	111.34	
Total	247	28,319.94		

*p<.05.

Note. -- Means for the two groups are listed in Table 43.

TABLE 41

Analysis of Variance on Self Satisfaction Scores of Disadvantaged Subjects in Education Classes Six and Seven, and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects in Education Classes One, Two, Three, and Four.

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Between Groups	1	-0.06[a]	-0.06	0.001
Within Groups	246	28,923.06	117.57	
Total	247	28,923.00		

[a] Negative value for between groups variance is due to rounding off by the computer, and a high degree of similarity between the two distributions of scores.

Note. -- Means for the two groups are listed in Table 43.

TABLE 42

Analysis of Variance on Behavior Scores of Disadvantaged Subjects in Education Classes Six and, Seven, and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects in Education Classes One, Two, Three, and Four.

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Between Groups	1	101.56	101.56	0.87
Within Groups	246	28,583.44	116.19	
Total	247	28,685.00		

Note. -- Means for the two groups are listed in Table 43.

TABLE 43

Means and Standard Deviations of Identity, Self Satisfaction, and Behavior Scores of Disadvantaged Subjects in Education Classes Six and Seven, and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects in Education Classes One, Two, Three, and Four.

Score	Disadvantaged in Education Classes 6 & 7		Non-Disadvantaged in Education Classes 1, 2, 3, & 4	
	Mean	s	Mean	s
Identity	41.63	11.33	47.19	10.42
Self Satisfaction	48.74	11.45	48.75	10.74
Behavior	41.48	11.19	43.32	10.71

Non-disadvantaged subjects at a higher social class extreme were selected by virtue of their membership in ISP education categories 1, 2,3, and 4. The relative positions of these categories can be ascertained by referring to Table A of Appendix A. Mean Identity, Self Satisfaction, and Behavior scores were computed for both of these groups, and the results were reported in Table 43. Subsequently, a one-way analysis of variance was computed on each pair of means as reported in Tables 40,41, and 42. Results of these analyses showed a significant difference on only the Identity scale, such that the non-disadvantaged had a significantly higher or more positive Identity than the disadvantaged. When the means in Table 43 are compared with the same three scales in Table 35, it becomes apparent that as social class differences between the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged became greater, the differences on the Identity scale likewise became greater. However, differences on the Self Satisfaction and Behavior scales did not change. Therefore, the degree of positiveness of perceived self seems to be affected by differences in social class, whereas the degree of a student's satisfaction with this perceived self, and the degree of positiveness of his perceptions of his behavior do not seem to be affected.

On the basis of the results of these three analyses, hypothesis 11 was rejected, while hypotheses 12 and 13 were not rejected.

Interaction of Social Class and Community Type: General Findings

It was suggested in the rationale for the study in Chapter I that the factors of social class and community type would interact to differentially affect self-concept. However, the F ratios for interaction reported in Tables 5 through 33 do not seem to support this contention. In fact, of the 29 scales only the Physical Self scale yielded an interaction F ratio significant at the .05 level. No values of F on the other 28 subscales even closely approached the .05 level of confidence. Although Duncan's multiple range test was computed and reported for each set of eight interaction means regardless of the significance of F, the differences revealed by Duncan's test should be interpreted only as being indicative of possible trends or tendencies as was done in the initial reporting of the findings. A strict interpretation of interaction on the basis of the results of Duncan's test seems most unwarranted for two complementary reasons. The analysis of variance F ratios for interaction did not attain or approach significance at the .05 level. Even the significance achieved on the Physical Self scale is within the realm of significance by chance, when considering that 28 other scales were also employed. Secondly, in a field study, which is by nature ex post facto, the "experimental treatment" has taken place at some previous time and is, therefore, completely uncontrolled by the investigator. Hence, the influence of extraneous variables is more likely to be introduced into the study. Consequently, interpretations of differences not reaching statistical significance are at best highly tenuous and may be quite misleading. In this section, therefore, only the most probable and obvious interactions between community type and social class will be reported with possible interpretations ventured. Consideration of other differences among interaction means will not go beyond that in the initial reporting of specific findings. The reader who wishes to assume all the inherent risks of interpreting interaction beyond this point is invited to do so.

As previously noted, a significant interaction F ratio was found on the Physical Self scale. Duncan's test in Table 8 reveals that community type-social class interaction exists for the depressed and non-depressed pairing of communities, and for the depressed and urban pairing. What this means for the pair of depressed and non-depressed communities is that if one lives in the rural depressed community, then his social class is not a factor in determining his Physical Self score. If one lives in the rural non-depressed community, then he is more likely to have a higher Physical Self score if he is non-disadvantaged than if he is disadvantaged. If one is non-disadvantaged, then community type is not a relevant variable in determining Physical Self. However, if one is disadvantaged, then a higher Physical Self is more likely if he lives in the depressed community than in the non-depressed community.

The interaction for the pair of depressed and urban communities is less complex. If one lives in the depressed community, then social class is irrelevant to his Physical Self score, and if he lives in the urban community, social class is likewise irrelevant. However, if one is disadvantaged, then he is more likely to have a higher Physical Self score if he lives in the depressed rather than in the urban community. On the other hand, one's Physical Self score would not be expected to be differentially affected in either community if he is non-disadvantaged.

On the basis of finding significant interaction on the Physical Self subscale, hypothesis 4 (no differences between the means of the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged among four communities) was rejected for this subscale, but was not rejected for the 28 others.

Reasonably strong evidence of an asymmetrical interaction was also gleaned from the Duncan's tests on interaction means in Tables 5 through 33. This evidence arose in testing hypothesis 3, the implied question of which is -- for each TSCS subscale, do the means of the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged groups differ within each community? Focusing on each community individually, Duncan's test indicated no significant differences between the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged within the suburban community, and between the same groups within the depressed community. Within the urban community, a significant difference was found on the Distribution of Four subscale. The non-disadvantaged scored higher than the disadvantaged -- though the interpretation of this difference is virtually meaningless. However, significant differences were found on six subscales within the rural non-depressed community. The non-disadvantaged subjects scored higher than the disadvantaged subjects on the following subscales: Identity, Physical Self, Moral-Ethical Self, Total Distribution, and Distribution of Ones. The disadvantaged subjects scored higher on the Psychosis subscale. Therefore, not only were the differences between community subgroups of disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged subjects found solely within the bounds of this single community, but the differences were in the directions suggested by the rationale for the study and by previous authoritative statements in the review of the literature. The presence of both of these conditions lends credence to these findings. Further support is evident from visual inspection of the relative ranks of the means of the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged subjects in this community on the remaining 23 scales. Although statistical significance is lacking, on 17 of these scales the ranks of the means for these two groups of students are separated by the means of at least three other groups. More importantly, the direction of the differences between these two means on these 17 scales is the same as that found on the preceeding six scales where statistical significance was achieved; that is, a more positive, definite, and stable self-concept for the non-disadvantaged within this community than for the disadvantaged.

What these differences within the rural non-depressed community appear to mean is that asymmetrical interaction is likely to be present. That is, if a student lived in either the suburban, urban, or depressed community, his self-concept as reflected by the TSCS was unlikely to be differentially affected by his social class membership. However, if he lived in the rural non-depressed community, and if he was non-disadvantaged, then he was more likely to have a more positive self-concept, to be more certain about his self-perceptions, and to have less of a propensity toward psychological disturbance than if he was disadvantaged. Hence, social class seems to make a difference in at least some aspects of the self-concepts of students in the rural non-depressed community, but such does not appear to be so for the other three types of communities.

On the basis of these findings, hypothesis 3 (no differences between the means of the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged on each subscale within each community) was rejected for the rural non-depressed community on the following scales: Identity, Physical Self, Moral-Ethical Self, Total Distribution, Distribution of Ones, and Psychosis. This hypothesis was not rejected for any other community on any TSCS scale.

Sex: General Findings

The variable of sex was included in this investigation because of its possible relationship to self-concept, as suggested in Chapters I and II. However, this variable was not included in the primary factorial design of the study because the introduction of a third variable would necessitate an excessively large N, and would render interpretation of the results far more unwieldly. Moreover, Fitts (1965b) suggests that sex is not a factor which differentially affects TSCS scores. Therefore, the Total Positive scale, a composite of the eight aspects of self-concept assessed by the Row and Column scores, was used as a check on the possible effects of sex differences in this study. The primary concern was the extent to which sex alone or in interaction with social class, affects self-concept.

Means of the Total Positive scores for both sexes and social classes, as reported in Table A of Appendix E, were subjected to a factorial analysis of variance followed by a Duncan's test on the interaction means. Results of these analyses in Table 44 indicate no significant differences between either the means of the sexes or the means of the social classes. Likewise, no significant interaction effect was revealed. Hence, it appears that the results previously reported in this chapter were likely not confounded by self-concept differences due to sex.

On the basis of these findings, hypothesis 9 (no differences among Total Positive means of disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged, males and females) was not rejected.

Grade in School: General Findings

Inclusion of the variable of grade in school stemmed from one

TABLE 44

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test Results of Total Positive Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged, Male and Female Subjects.

Analysis of Variance[a]

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Sex	1	7.83	7.83	0.07
Social Class	1	40.13	40.13	0.38
Interaction: Sex X Soc.	1	54.44	54.44	0.52
Error	369	38,683.81	104.83	
Total	372	38,786.83		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean			Lowest Mean
Sex- Social Class Interaction	Male ND 45.71	Female ND 45.66	Female D 45.66	Male D 43.62

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

[a] Additional data regarding this analysis is reported in Table A of Appendix E.

TABLE 45

Analysis of Variance and Duncan's Multiple Range Test
Results of Total Positive Scores of Disadvantaged and
Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Three School Grades.

Analysis of Variance[a]

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Grade	2	96.32	48.16	0.46
Social Class	1	30.03	30.03	0.29
Interaction: Gr. X Soc.	2	117.32	58.66	0.56
Error	367	38,532.42	104.99	
Total	372	38,786.83		

Duncan's Test

Variable	Highest Mean					Lowest Mean
Grade		Eleven 45.99	Ten 45.85		Nine 44.80	
Grade-Social Class Interaction	Eleven D 47.57	Ten ND 46.40	Eleven ND 45.90	Nine D 44.92	Nine ND 44.76	Ten D 43.96

Note. -- Underlined means are not significantly different; non-underlined means differ significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

[a] Additional data regarding this analysis is reported in Table B of Appendix E.

evident possibility of confounding of the community type-social class analyses. That is, it was suspected that the selection factor of attrition of low self-concept "drop-outs" could yield successively higher self-concept scores for successively higher grades in a school.

This possibility was investigated by factorial analysis of variance of the means of the Total Positive scores by social class and by grade in school. A distribution of scores by grade and social class is presented in Table B of Appendix E. Results of the analysis of variance and Duncan's test in Table 45 indicate no significant differences among any of the sets of means for grade in school, social class, or grade by social class. It therefore appears unlikely that self-concept differences due to social class and community type were confounded by the variable of grade in school.

Failure to reject hypothesis 10 (no differences among Total Positive means of disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged when categorized by grade in school) resulted from these findings.

Summary of the Chapter

The five preceding sections of this chapter have summarized the results of the study as they relate directly to the independent variables under consideration. In this section the results are further condensed in terms of rejection or non-rejection of the hypotheses tested.

The following hypotheses were tested in order to meet the objectives of the study.

1. For each of the 29 TSCS subscales, there will be no differences among the mean scores for each of the four communities studied.

2. For each of the 29 TSCS subscales, there will be no differ-

ences between the mean scores of disadvantaged (D) and non-disadvantaged (ND) high school students across all communities.

3. For each of the 29 TSCS subscales, there will be no differences between the mean scores of disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged high school students _within_ each of the four types of communities.

4. For each of the 29 TSCS subscales, there will be no differences between the mean scores of disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged high school students _among_ the four types of communities.

5. There will be no differences among the mean Identity, Self Satisfaction, and Behavior scores of the _disadvantaged_ students.

6. There will be no differences among the mean Identity, Self Satisfaction, and Behavior scores of the _non-disadvantaged_ students.

7. There will be no differences among the mean Physical Self, Moral-Ethical Self, Personal Self, Family Self, and Social Self scores of the _disadvantaged_ students.

8. There will be no differences among the mean Physical Self, Moral-Ethical Self, Personal Self, Family Self, and Social Self scores of the _non-disadvantaged_ students.

9. There will be no differences among the mean Total Positive scores of the male and female, disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged students.

10. There will be no differences among the mean Total Positive scores of disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged students when differentiated by grade in school.

11. There will be no differences between the mean of the Identity scores of disadvantaged students in educational categories 6 and 7 and that of non-disadvantaged students in educational categories 1,2,3,

and 4.

12. There will be no differences between the mean of the Self Satisfaction scores of disadvantaged students in educational classes 6 and 7 and that of non-disadvantaged students in educational categories 1,2,3, and 4.

13. There will be no differences between the mean of the Behavior scores of disadvantaged students in educational classes 6 and 7 and that of non-disadvantaged students in educational categories 1,2,3, and 4.

Differences between means were accepted as being statistically significant for rejection of the null hypotheses if the analysis of variance F ratios and the observed differences on Duncan's test met the .05 level of confidence. Action taken on the hypotheses in consequence of these differences is summarized in Table 46. Where rejection of an hypothesis is not stated, failure to reject is implied.

This chapter has reported the procedures and results of data analysis for this investigation. No attempt to interpret the findings has been made -- such is reserved for the following chapter.

TABLE 46

Disposition of Hypotheses in Consequence of Statistical Analyses

Hypothesis Number	Disposition
1	Rejected for the following subscales: Self Criticism, Total Conflict, Identity, Physical Self, Personal Self, Defensive Positive, Behavior, Distribution of Twos.
2	Rejected for the following subscales: Self Criticism, True-False Ratio, Total Conflict, Social Self, Distribution of Threes, Psychosis, Number of Deviant Signs.
3	Rejected for rural non-depressed community only, on the following subscales: Identity, Physical Self, Moral-Ethical Self, Total Distribution, Distribution of Ones, Psychosis.
4	Rejected for Physical Self subscale only.
5	Rejected.
6	Rejected.
7	Rejected.
8	Rejected.
9	Not rejected.
10	Not rejected.
11	Rejected.
12	Not rejected.
13	Not rejected.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS OF THE STUDY

The findings reported in the preceding chapter cannot be meaningfully interpreted apart from the assumptions and limitations of this investigation as stated in the ensuing section. Following these preliminary statements the results of the study are discussed and implications drawn.

Assumptions and Limitations of the Study

Assumptions. The following assumptions were considered to be basic and necessary for conducting this investigation.

1. All behavior is lawful. Without assuming some degree of lawfulness, behavior would have to be random and, therefore,unpredictable. Hence, there would be no need to study it.

2. The Tennessee Self Concept Scale and the Two Factor Index of Social Position were assumed to be sufficiently valid and reliable instruments for the purposes of this study.

3. It was assumed that the students responded to the items on the TSCS and the Individual Data Sheet with frankness and honesty.

4. It was assumed that the samples of students selected were representative of the populations from which they were drawn.

Limitations. The following limitations must be recognized when drawing inferences from the results of this study.

1. Though the self-concept is relatively stable, it is subject to change. Therefore, the self-concept reported by each subject in this study was the concept of that particular individual at the moment of testing.

2. As words are incapable of describing the full range of

human experience, limitations due to language were present. Likewise, differences in the meanings of words to different students may have tended to confound self-concept measurement.

3. The self-concept cannot be directly observed or measured. Hence, the self can only be inferred from samples of the individual's behavior -- in this study a self-report.

4. The measurement of self-concept is potentially subject to confounding by the endorsement of items on the basis of their social desirability.

5. The request for a self-report changes the perceptual field to some extent and, hence, affects behavior and the nature of what can be reported. The self-report is, therefore, a function of both one's perceptions of self and his perceptions of the situation.

6. The study of the self-concepts of adolescents in this investigation was limited to those aspects of the self assessed by the TSCS. Since the use of different instruments implies somewhat different operational definitions of "self-concept", caution must be exercised in synthesizing these findings with those of other studies.

7. As this study was conducted in four selected Maine communities, generalization is limited by the degree of similarity between the study population and other populations.

8. Inability to manipulate the independent variables constitutes a limitation insofar as any extraneous variables were permitted to operate in this study.

9. No attempt was made to control for variance due to economic differences within the samples of disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged students. The investigation was limited to the extent that such

variance existed and, thereby, reduced the homogeneity of the two social classes.

Interpretation of the Findings

The findings reported in the preceding chapter indicated no basic self-concept differences between the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged subjects, except for a more positive view of themselves in their social interactions on the part of the non-disadvantaged. In relation to other aspects of their own self-concepts, the non-disadvantaged also rated themselves highly on this Social Self dimension. In addition, the non-disadvantaged, along with the disadvantaged, tended to see themselves in the most positive ways physically and personally, and in the least positive ways morally and ethically. Each group also revealed a degree of satisfaction with their self-perceptions which surpassed the positiveness of their self-concepts and perceptions of their own behavior.

What these findings seemed to indicate was a slight self-concept difference between disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged subjects. That is, the non-disadvantaged felt more adequate in their social interaction with other people in general than did the disadvantaged. This feeling of adequacy in social interaction was, in fact, one of the most positive aspects of the self-concepts of the non-disadvantaged. On the other hand, when compared to other aspects of their own self-concepts, the disadvantaged tended to feel slightly more worthwhile in their interaction with family members than did the non-disadvantaged. However, when compared to each other, the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged students did not differ on this Family Self dimension. What these findings mean is that global or general self-concept differences between the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged did not exist, except possibly among those persons at the extremes of each group. Where the differences did exist was in relation to interaction with other people. In view of the significant function of feedback from other people in maintaining and enhancing one's self-concept, and in view of the rationale for the study which posited more negative feedback being received by the disadvantaged, it is understandable that the disadvantaged felt less adequate in the aspect of their self-concepts which is most closely allied to the source of the feedback -- namely, other people in general. This being so, may explain the tendency of the disadvantaged individual to place relatively higher valuation on himself as a family member. The dynamics being -- at least if the feedback is not positive from the family, it is not as negative or as unpredictable as that from other people; one is more likely to be accepted, or at least able to predict what the reactions will be, within the family. Hence, there is less threat to self and consequently greater feelings of worth and adequacy.

The value of using a multi-dimensional self-concept instrument, such as the TSCS, becomes even more apparent when considering other differences between the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged subjects. Though only a single difference was found between the basic self-concepts of the students in these two groups, investigation of the dynamics of their self-concepts revealed other differences. Briefly, the disadvantaged showed more defensiveness, confusion, conflict, and uncertainty in their self-reports than did the non-disadvantaged. This, coupled with a greater inclination toward psychological disturbance, seems to cast a more doubtful light on the positive aspects of self-concept previously presented. The disadvantaged subjects apparently found it necessary to employ more defensiveness to maintain their concepts of themselves than did the non-disadvantaged. Such defensiveness does not imply a willful misrepresentation on the part of the disadvantaged subjects. It indicates, rather, a self-structure that is more vulnerable to or subjected to threat by the presence of disconfirming or negative feedback. Hence, a defensive elevation of the disadvantaged student's self-concept may have been necessary to maintain an acceptable level of self-esteem. In addition, the greater degree of confusion, contradiction, and uncertainty indicates a poorly differentiated self which would tend to result in less adequate, more ambiguous behavior on the part of the disadvantaged. Therefore, although the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged students were not drastically different with respect to the degree of positiveness or negativeness presented in their self-concepts, they differed more markedly in their underlying dynamics.

Differences among students in the four community types represented were most apparent between the two communities at the economic extremes -- the rural depressed and the affluent suburban. The subjects in the rural depressed community presented more positive general self-concepts, particularly regarding themselves physically and personally. They also indicated more defensiveness than the affluent suburban subjects. Hence, it appears that the students in the rural depressed community maintained generally more positive self-concepts through the employment of defenses, whereas the suburban students had somewhat less positive self-concepts but were able to be more open and admit a wider variety of data to their awareness. Although the groups differed in terms of positiveness of self-concept, and in terms of defensiveness, they were similar with respect to the degree of certainty, confusion, conflict, and inconsistency of self-concept, all of which were within the normal range.

In the rationale for the study the suspicion was raised that the factors of social class and community type would interact such that the self-concepts of disadvantaged students would be more negatively affected in the affluent suburb than in the rural depressed community. Similar, but less severe differences due to interaction were likewise anticipated between the pairings of the typical urban and rural non-depressed communities with the rural depressed community. However, these anticipated interactions were not forthcoming from the findings of this investigation.

Although a significant interaction was observed on the Physical Self dimension for the pair of depressed and non-depressed communities, and for the pair of depressed and urban communities, by far the most outstanding interaction occurred within the rural non-depressed community. If a student lived in either the suburban, urban, or depressed community, his self-concept was unlikely to be differentially affected by his social class. However, within the non-depressed community, a non-disadvantaged student was more likely to have a more positive self-concept, be more certain about his perceptions of self, and have less of a tendency toward psychological disturbance than if he was disadvantaged.

On the basis of the findings herein summarized, the following conclusions were drawn:

1. With the exception of the rural non-depressed community, the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged subjects within each individual community had more similar self-concepts than did the disadvantaged as a group and the non-disadvantaged as a group across all communities.

2. With the exception of the rural non-depressed community, the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged subjects within each individual community had more similar self-concepts than did the subjects across all communities when grouped solely by community type.

The reason for the existence of these differences lies in the presence of different variances. The only known variance existing between the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged subjects within a single community was social class variance. However, when all disadvantaged and all non-disadvantaged students were compared without regard for their community of residence, the differences between the two groups reflected not only social class variance but also variance due to the factor of community type. Likewise when the subjects in the four communities were compared without regard for their social classes, the differences among the four groups reflected not only variance due to the communities but also social class variance. Hence, the only identifiable variance reflected in self-concept differernces between social classes within a single community is variance due to social class. (It must be recognized, however, that other extraneous factors could conceivably account for at least part of this variance.) The fact that this study revealed such differences due to social class in only one of the four communities, and that the differences were in the direction suggested by the rationale for the study, suggests that both community type and social class affect self-concept, and do, in some situations, interact to produce differential effects. Therefore, it is ventured that the failure of previous research to control for both of these variables may explain some of the conflicting or contradictory findings of such studies.

The reader's attention is now directed toward possible explanations of the major differences revealed by the investigation. Essentially, the common question in each case is -- what could account for these differences? It is possible that the differences found could simply be artifacts of the instrument itself, particularly of the type noted by Reissman and Miller (1958). It was their finding that items on certain personality tests would be scored as psychologically unhealthy if responded to realistically by children from the lower class. However, their study was concerned primarily with various projective devices, and may not be directly pertinent to the situation under consideration. Moreover, explaining differences as being due to an instrumentational artifact does not explain why the self-concept scores of the disadvantaged were not distinctly lower than those of the non-disadvantaged. It also fails to account for the occurrence of "within community" differences for only the rural non-depressed community, and to account for the greater confusion and uncertainty present in the self-concepts of the disadvantaged.

Another possible explanation is that subjects in the rural depressed community responded more positively to the TSCS items on the basis of their social desirability. However plausible this may be, it does not account for the confusion, uncertainty, and propensity toward psychological disturbance which tended to characterize the disadvantaged; nor does it indicate why intracommunity differences occurred in only the rural non-depressed community. Moreover, studies of the susceptibility of the TSCS to being influenced by social desirability (Brassard, 1964; Tracy, 1967) indicate that such effects are minimized when group scores are being considered. Also, as Wylie (1961, pp. 27-30) has stated, merely because self-report responses are predicted with reasonable reliability on the basis of their social desirability value does not necessarily disprove their validity as indicators of an individual's self-concept.

The possibility cannot be completely discounted that the confusion, defensiveness, and uncertainty revealed in the self-concepts of the disadvantaged are related to problems of semantics. Such an explanation could also account for the differences between the rural depressed and affluent suburban communities. Cultural differences and differences between educational institutions could conceivably be related to different meanings attached to the self-referent statements on the TSCS. It is more difficult, however, to accept such a reason as a tenable explanation for the differences within the non-depressed community, particularly in light of the absence of such differences within the other three communities.

Minor variations in administrative procedures of testing in the four communities could have occurred in spite of the attempts at standardization. If so, such may explain differences between communities but not differences within communities or between social classes across all communities.

Differences between communities, which were in fact unrelated to self-concept differences, could have been produced by differential life experiences associated with area of residence. However, if such was the case, it becomes difficult to discern why these differences were manifest between only two of the four communities. Hence, it seems more likely that the differences between the subjects in the depressed and the suburban communities were reflections of existing self-concept differences. In part, such a conclusion was supported by the rationale for the study. To summarize, it was suspected that being disadvantaged in an economically depressed community was less damaging to one's self-concept than being disadvantaged in an affluent community. Such a distinct cleavage was not borne out by the findings. Rather, it seems that living in a rural depressed community is somewhat more likely to result in a more positive self-concept than is living in an affluent suburb. However, such positiveness is likely to be maintained by a commensurate degree of defensiveness, meaning that more of one's energies must be directed toward maintaining or defending the self in the rural depressed community. Perhaps this represents a recognition, at some level of awareness, of a discontinuity with the larger society, and a consequent threat of non-acceptance or non-participation therein.

As none of the alternative explanations was adequate to substantiate the differences between the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged subjects, the original formulations presented previously in this section were accepted. Specifically, the only difference in degrees of positiveness of the fundamental aspects of self-concept was that the non-disadvantaged felt more adequate in their social interaction with people in general. However, indications of more negativeness at a lower level of awareness were present within the disadvantaged group. They revealed somewhat more defensiveness and a greater propensity toward psychological disturbance which, when coupled with more positiveness presented in the eight basic aspects of self, may have led to the relatively greater degrees of confusion, conflict,and uncertainty. In addition, the greater differences in identity found between the extremes of the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged groups leads to the suspicion that with greater precision in identifying the disadvantaged the self-concept differences would have been even more sharply delineated.

Another point regarding the use of the Index of Social Position (ISP) needs to be made here. Although subjects who could obviously not provide adequate information regarding the occupation and education of the head of the household were eliminated from the study, it is likely that some who were included did not have completely accurate information. Hence, mis-assignments to social class groups may have occurred in some instances. To the extent that this occurred, some differences between the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged groups may have been obscured. In addition, if information provided on the ISP was more accurate in the rural non-depressed community, the result would be a more accurate classification of subjects. Such increased accuracy could explain the differences found between social class groups within the non-depressed community. There was, however, no reason to suspect that this was so.

The most tenable explanation for the self-concept differences between the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged subjects within the rural non-depressed community lies in the fact that this community was selected because of its social and economic typicality. The affluent suburban and the rural depressed communities, on the contrary, were selected because they were atypical. Such is adequately illustrated in Figure 3, which presents a family income profile for each of the communities in this study. The income distribution in the depressed community was positively skewed, while that of the suburban community was skewed negatively. Incomes in the rural non-depressed community closely approached a normal distribution. Therefore, within a single community it is more likely that more equal representation of income extremes occurred in the non-depressed community than in any other. The depressed community had a preponderance of low income families, while the suburb had an over-representation of families with higher incomes. Summarily stated, the economic differences between disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged subjects within a single community were very likely greatest within the non-depressed community, because the disadvantaged within the depressed community were more disadvantaged than those in the suburban and non-depressed communities, while the non-disadvantaged in the suburb were more financially superior to the non-disadvantaged in the two rural communities. Furthermore, it is extremely unlikely that many wealthy families would be content to live in an economically depressed and declining community. The exodus from this community is in fact documented (Butwin, 1968). Similarly, it is most unlikely that many poverty-striken families could afford to live and be accepted in the affluent suburb.

In terms of the effects of these social class differences upon self-concept, the significance of the coexistence of equally wide ranges of disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged families within the same community must not be minimized. As Merton (1968) has suggested, it is the comparison the individual makes between his own situation and

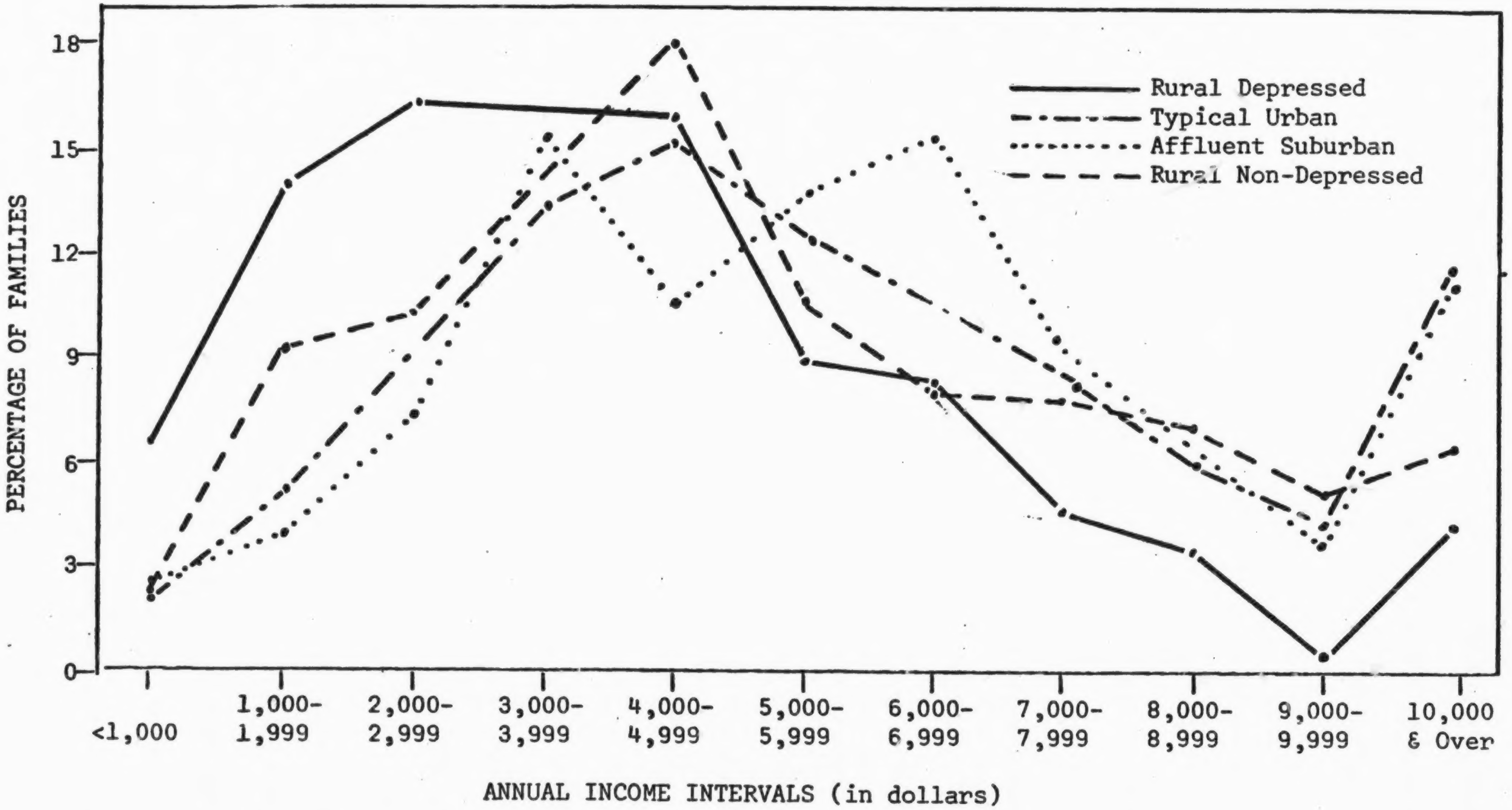

FIG. 3. Family Income Profiles for Four Communities. (Profile data was taken from the *U. S. census of population: 1960*. Vol. 1. *Characteristics of the population*. Part 21, Maine. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963. Pp. 117-123.)

those of others that is crucial in determining the ways in which he regards himself. It is the reference groups with whom the individual interacts, and with whom he may or may not be similar in status, that determine the kinds of self-evaluations which he makes. For the disadvantaged young person in the non-depressed community, those persons with whom he interacts daily -- those within his own community -- are most likely to have the most significant effect upon him. In spite of a burgeoning mass media reflecting grandeur and affluence, it is the people with whom he has first-hand experiences that communicate to the disadvantaged young person what he is and is not. Such is particularly so within rural communities where, among the disadvantaged, geographical mobility is frequently extremely restricted. Hence, social and economic differences within the community are seen as differentially influencing the ways in which disadvantaged youngsters perceive themselves.

Although the urban community was also selected on the basis of its typicality, it was "typical" only within the set of three communities from which it was selected. Hence, if the set was atypical, then the selected urban community would, in a sense, be nonrepresentative. Scrutiny of Figure 3 indeed indicates economic atypicality in relation to the other three communities. This urban community is in fact more like the affluent suburb than it is like either of the other two communities. With the exception of population size, data in Table A of Appendix B further supports this similarity. Hence, the reason for the lack of differences between the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged within the urban community is largely the same as for the suburb.

In the rationale for this investigation it was predicted that in communities where socio-economic differences between the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged were greatest, there would be a more negative impact upon the self-concepts of the disadvantaged. It was further suspected that such a phenomenon would most likely occur within more affluent communities. The fundamental premise of this rationale was supported by the findings of this study -- that a greater negative impact upon self-concepts of disadvantaged people occurs as they become socially and economically more dissimilar to the non-disadvantaged. However, such dissimilarities were not maximized in the affluent suburban community as was originally anticipated. The best explanation for this seems to be the initial failure to fully realize that the variance between disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged groups is not merely a function of the conditions of the non-disadvantaged; the relative severity of the plight of the disadvantaged also fluctuates. The evidence in this study indicated that of the four communities involved, the differences between the disadvantaged and the non-disadvantaged were most extreme within the rural non-depressed community.

Implications of the Study

One of the major implications of the findings in this investigation is to strongly question the prevalent assumption that disadvantaged persons categorically have negative perceptions of themselves and feel that they are people of little worth or value. Collectively speaking, evidence from this study indicated some negative tendencies in the social and the more subtle aspects of self, but overwhelmingly negative self-concepts were not apparent among the disadvantaged. Such an assumption, in fact, appears to be inaccurate largely because it is an oversimplification in which the operation of variables in addition to social class have not been adequately considered -- notably, in this investigation, the variable of community type. Perhaps this generalization, which asserts the existence of negative self-perceptions on the part of the disadvantaged, was generated from an extensive focus upon the disadvantaged in urban slums and ghettos -- and it may well be true there. However, to generalize from such settings to all disadvantaged persons has been demonstrated to be grossly inaccurate. In view of the more positive, though more defensively held, self-perceptions of subjects in the rural depressed community, the following question is raised: What impact does moving from a rural depressed community to an urban slum have upon the self-concept of a disadvantaged adolescent?

Strong implications also exist for educational institutions -- in particular, for those which must deal with disadvantaged young people. The obvious differences within a group of adolescents in this study, all of whom were classified as "disadvantaged", indicates the fallaciousness of assuming that all in this category are about the same. Within some communities the disadvantaged will largely be characterized by negative self-images; within others they will not. Particularly where such is the case, some viable and pervasive social institution must accept the responsiblity for remediating such a debilitating factor. It is asserted that the school is this institution. Hence, educators must either become more adept at identifying and providing for these young people, or embrace as an operational objective the promotion of feelings of self-worth and self-adequacy in each of their students. Current indications are that schools have relatively little impact upon such attitudes (Coleman, 1961; Sanford, 1962). Hence, the writer feels that ways must be developed to help teachers, counselors, and administrators feel good about themselves and about each other; for only when this is so, can they help students to value themselves as people. But unless these adults who deal with the student really come to care about and value him in his uniqueness, all the techniques and methods that can be created will not communicate it. Above all else, the realization by educators that some disadvantaged young people have come to think negatively of themselves, and consequently behave in self-defeating ways, must never become a convenient means of rationalizing the school's failures. Rather, it is the obligation of the professionals to learn to deal with students who are quite different in terms of their ways of dealing with the school.

As previously suggested in this chapter, some unanticipated findings lead to the assertion that many prior self-concept studies of the disadvantaged have focused on the more obvious positive and negative feelings about self, rather than on what holds promise of being more fruitful territory. Indications in this investigation were that the more internal or underlying dynamics of the self, such as defensiveness, conflict, clarity, and certainty, were quite significant in differentiating disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged adolescents. Perhaps, for example, the low level of adaptability among some of the disadvantaged is more a function of a vague, confused, or uncertain self-concept than of the degree of positiveness attached to it.

Summary of the Chapter

This chapter identified the relevant assumptions and limitations of the investigation as an important part of the context within which the findings were interpreted. Consideration was given to a variety of possible explanations for the results of the study, together with identification of the most plausible reasons as related to the original rationale. Implications of the findings for educators and other researchers were also discussed. For a summary of the entire study and further suggestions for research, the reader is referred to the following chapter.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Purpose of the Study

The primary purpose of this investigation was to test the proposition that the self-concepts of disadvantaged adolescents would be differentially affected, from community to community, according to the social and economic characteristics of the communities in which they reside. That is, in a community which is primarily socially and economically depressed, there would be a less negative impact upon the self-concept of the disadvantaged person. However, with an increase in the preponderance of non-disadvantaged persons in a community, the disadvantaged citizens would be increasingly confronted by social-class differences reflecting their non-acceptance. As a result, the negative influence upon the self-concepts of the disadvantaged would become correspondingly greater.

This proposition was tested by investigating differences between the self-concepts of disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged high school students within and across four different types of communities. Specifically, answers to the following questions were sought:

1. Are there differences between the self-concepts of disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged high school students?

2. Are there differences between the self-concepts of disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged high school students within and/or among different types of communities?

3. If such differences do exist, what is their nature?

The Procedures of the Study

A total of 373 high school students in grades 9,10, and 11 were selected from four Maine communities. Three of these communities were of approximately the same population size, but differed on the dimension of annual family income. Ranging respectively from a predominance of low-income families to a predominance of high-income families, these communities were labeled "rural depressed", "rural non-depressed", and "affluent suburban". The fourth community was called "typical urban", as it was selected as being representative of Maine cities.

The Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS) and an Individual Data Sheet (IDS) were administered to the selected subjects. On the basis of information provided on the IDS, each subject was classified as being disadvantaged or non-disadvantaged according to the Two Factor Index of Social Position. Each subject was also categorized according to his residence in one of the four communities, his sex, and his grade in school.

The primary design of the study was a 4 X 2 factorial design, in which the four levels of community type were juxtaposed against the two levels of social class. This design was replicated once for each of the 29 dependent variables -- the TSCS subscales. There were also two secondary designs in this study. The two levels of social class were pitted against the two levels of sex, forming a 2 X 2 factorial design. The other, a 3 X 2 factorial design, was created by crossing the three levels of grade in school with the two social-class levels. In each of these three designs, differences among means were tested for significance by factorial analysis of variance, which was followed by Duncan's multiple range test for differences between pairs of means.

Summary of the Findings and Conclusions

The writer had originally envisioned including in this summary a restatement of the hypotheses, and a resumé of the conditions under which they were rejected or not rejected. However, to facilitate readability, this summary has been written in a more self-descriptive style. The reader who wishes the results of the study in terms of the hypotheses tested is referred to the final section of Chapter IV.

The findings of the study indicated that the disadvantaged subjects perceived themselves as being less adequate in their social interaction with people in general, than did the non-disadvantaged subjects -- a likely reflection of the real or perceived negative feedback which the disadvantaged had received from other people. On seven other aspects of self-concept, these two social classes did not differ. However, the disadvantaged did show more defensiveness, confusion, conflict, and uncertainty in their self-reports, as well as indications of greater psychological disturbance. The disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged students both felt most positively about themselves physically and personally, and felt least good about themselves morally and ethically.

Evidence was found that community-related factors also affect self-concept. Differences in the impact of these factors were most marked in the comparison of the rural depressed and the affluent suburban communities. Students in the rural depressed community had more positive general self-concepts, and maintained these more through the employment of defenses, than did the affluent suburban students.

The factors of "sex" and "grade in school" were not found to have any relationship to the general level of self-esteem portrayed by the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged subjects in this study.

Interaction between the factors of "social class" and "community type" was observed on one aspect of self-concept for the pair of depressed and non-depressed communities, and the pair of depressed and urban communities. Specifically, the disadvantaged subjects in the depressed community perceived themselves physically (their health, physical appearance, skills, and sexuality) in more positive ways than did the disadvantaged subjects in the non-depressed and the urban community. However, the most outstanding interaction was within the rural non-depressed community. Here the factor of "community type" interacted with social class such that the non-disadvantaged subjects had more positive self-concepts, were more certain of their self-perceptions, and tended to have less psychological disturbance than the disadvantaged. It was suggested that this differential affecting of self-concept was due to the relatively greater degree of social and economic extremes present in this community.

To summarize, the following conclusions were drawn:

1. Except for one aspect of self-concept, the disadvantaged students perceived themselves in as positive a way as did the non-disadvantaged students. However, indications were that at a low level of awareness the disadvantaged had more negative self-concepts than did the non-disadvantaged.

2. The disadvantaged were more defensive, confused, conflicted, and uncertain in their self-reports than were the non-disadvantaged.

3. Subjects in the rural depressed community had more positive self-concepts than those in the affluent suburban community. The data suggested that this was maintained through the employment of more defensiveness.

4. In the community within which the greatest social and economic extremes existed(the rural non-depressed community), the negative impact upon the self-concepts of the disadvantaged was the greatest.

5. Within the communities which were more homogeneously composed of either low income or high income families, the self-concepts of the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged were more alike than were --

(a) the self-concepts of the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged collectively across all communities.

(b) the self-concepts of students when grouped solely by community of residence and compared to each other.

6. If the writer was to highlight any single conclusion from this investigation, it would be that to adequately generalize about the self-concepts of disadvantaged people is an extremely arduous and intricate task bordering on futility. C. H. Patterson (1969) has aptly stated the case in the following manner: "The disadvantaged are not a homogeneous group and cannot be understood by dealing with them as such (p. 10)." This was certainly borne out by the present study. A careful scrutiny of Chapter IV will demonstrate to the reader that there were as many self-concept differences within the group of disadvantaged students as there were between groups of disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged students.

Suggestions for Further Research

Through conducting this study, certain questions and problems have become apparent for the investigator. These are stated here with the intention of providing other researchers with material from which to generate hypotheses, and to assist in solving certain research problems.

1. There is a need for replication of the design of this study with other populations, and particularly in other geographical areas. In so doing, means should be devised of assuring the selection of larger numbers of disadvantaged subjects in order that they would be more proportional to the sample size of the non-disadvantaged.

2. The researcher studying the disadvantaged should attempt to avoid the problem of treating a sample of disadvantaged subjects as if it were homogeneous when, in fact, it is heterogeneous. The problem is particularly crucial when subjects are selected from several schools or communities, as in the present study. Though all subjects classified as "disadvantaged" met common criteria, the criteria functioned as a social-class "ceiling" above which a subject would be classified as "non-disadvantaged". All disadvantaged subjects, those below the "ceiling", were assumed to be at the same social-class level; it is likely they were not, because from community to community there was no control over the range and distribution of social-class differences within the groups of disadvantaged subjects. Perhaps this problem could be avoided by more precisely matching subjects across communities with respect to their social-class levels.

3. It is evident that studies of the disadvantaged would do

well to focus on aspects of self-concept other than the sheer degree of positiveness present. The dynamics by which the self functions and is maintained should prove to be a profitable area of endeavor.

4. In addition to economic factors, what variables associated with the community affect self-concept, and in what ways? It may be that such factors as the attitudes of educators and public officials in a community have consequences for the self-perceptions of the disadvantaged person.

5. Specific study needs to be made of the impact of relocation of disadvantaged persons upon their self-concepts. In particular, what is the impact of moving from a rural to an urban slum?

6. Since behavior is a function of the total phenomenal field, which is inclusive of the self-concept, comprehension of the behavior of disadvantaged persons can never be completely achieved solely in terms of self-concept. Hence, more research is needed to reveal the ways in which disadvantaged persons perceive the world around them and their relationships to it.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Information Related to Instruments and Data Gathering Procedures

TABLE A

Matrix of Scores on Two Factor Index of Social Position

Occupation Category	Weighted Score, Occupation	Education Category						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
		Weighted Score, education						
		4	8	12	16	20	24	28
		Total ISP Score						
1	7	11	15	19	23	27	31	35
2	14	18	22	26	30	34	38	42
3	21	25	29	33	37	41	45	49
4	28	32	36	40	44	48	52	56
5	35	39	43	47	51	55	59	63
6	42	46	50	54	58	62	66	70[a]
7	49	53	57	61	65[b]	69[a]	73[a]	77[a]

[a] Indicates scores of persons operationally defined as "disadvantaged".

[b] Persons scoring 65, classified disadvantaged if unemployed more than 3 months and received financial assistance.

INDIVIDUAL DATA SHEET

1-3. ________
Number

Instructions:
Please do not place your name on any of these materials unless instructed to do so. Print your answers to the following questions in the blank spaces provided on the right side of the page. Please be sure to PRINT.

****

4-5. Name of the school which you attend.	4-5. ________________
6-7. Name of the town in which this school is located.	6-7. ________________
8. What is your sex? (circle one)	8. Male(1) Female(2)
9-10. What is your present grade in school? (circle one)	9-10. 09 10 11
	11. D(1) ND(2)
12. Who is the major wage-earner in your household? (circle one)	12. Father Mother Other Relative Guardian
13. Does the major wage-earner receive Social Security, Aid for Dependent Children, Unemployment or relief checks? (circle one)	13. Yes No
14.(a) If the major wage-earner is presently working, go to question 15. (b) If the major wage-earner is presently not working, has he or she worked within the last 3 months? (circle one)	14. Yes (go to no.15) No (go to no.16)
15.(a) Does the major wage-earner either own or manage his business or place of work? (circle one)	15.(a) Yes No Partially
(b) What kind of work does the major wage-earner do when working? (Please be specific. Examples: super market manager; wood cutter; doctor.)	(b) ________________ ________________ ________________

(c) What does the major wage-earner do in his place of work? (Please be specific. Examples: manages entire store; cuts wood and hauls it to mill; sells and repairs T.V. sets; etc.)	(c)____________________ ____________________ ____________________ ____________________
(d) In what kind of place of work is the major wage-earner employed? (Please be specific. Examples: large super market; works in the woods; etc.)	(d)____________________ ____________________ ____________________
(e) About how many people including the major wage-earner work full-time in his place of work? (circle one)	(e) 1 2-5 6-10 11-20 21-50 51 or more
16. Check the highest number of years of schooling that the major wage-earner completed. (check one)	16.____Less than 7th grade ____Grade 7, 8, or 9 completed ____Grade 10 or 11 completed ____High school graduate or more
(optional) 17. Do you mind having the results of the attached questionnaire made available to your counselor? (circle one)	17. Yes No

TABLE B

T Score Upper and Lower Extreme Limits of Each TSCS Subscale

Subscale	Limits		Subscale	Limits	
	Upper	Lower		Upper	Lower
Self Criticism	77	37	Variability Row	61	29
True-False Ratio	63	28	Distribution Total	70	36
Net Conflict	63	27	Distribution of Fives	68	26
Total Conflict	63	27	Distribution of Fours	67	30
Total Positive	76	40	Distribution of Threes	62	30
Identity	76	38	Distribution of Twos	73	36
Self Satisfaction	82	38	Distribution of Ones	72	35
Behavior	73	37	Defensive Positive	65	34
Physical Self	76	38	General Maladjustment	62	27
Moral-Ethical Self	75	38	Psychosis	63	28
Personal Self	74	37	Personality Disorder	62	26
Family Self	80	38	Neurosis	62	26
Social Self	75	37	Personality Integration	96	39
Variability Total	62	27	Number of Deviant Signs	58	25
Variability Column	63	24			

APPENDIX B

Community Demographic Data

TABLE A

Demographic Data for Community Selection[e]

Community	Demographic Variable			
	Population	Median Family Income	% Families Income<$3,000	% Families Income>$10,000
Maine Communities with Populations of 2,500 to 5,000				
A	5,000 (1)	$4,958 (8)	19.5 (10)	12.3 (2)
B	4,761 (2)	4,654 (12)	17.7 (13)	7.5 (9)
C	4,679 (3)	4,000 (16)	32.4 (2)	6.0 (14)
D	4,580 (4)	4,648 (13)	25.9 (5)	6.1 (13)
E	4,551 (5)	5,517 (3)	15.3 (16)	8.6 (5)
F	4,541 (6)	5,359 (5)	19.3 (11)	5.6 (15)
G	4,444 (7)	5,010 (7)	18.2 (12)	8.2 (6)
H	4,223 (8)	4,276 (15)	30.5 (3)	4.1 (17)
I	4,010 (9)	5,290 (6)	16.3 (15)	12.1 (3)
J	3,988 (10)	4,682 (11)	23.5 (7)	7.5 (9)
K[a]	3,951 (11)	4,754 (10)	22.0 (8)	6.5 (11)
L	3,939 (12)	4,904 (9)	26.5 (4)	6.2 (12)
M	3,733 (13)	4,607 (14)	24.9 (6)	8.0 (7)
N[b]	3,517 (14)	5,729 (1)	13.8 (17)	11.3 (4)
O	3,343 (15)	5,566 (2)	17.6 (14)	7.5 (9)
P	3,169 (16)	5,429 (4)	21.8 (9)	13.5 (1)
Q[c]	2,537 (17)	3,789 (17)	37.2 (1)	4.3 (16)
Maine Communities with Populations in Excess of 30,000				
X[d]	38,912 (3)	5,353 (2)	16.9 (2)	11.6 (1)
Y	40,804 (2)	5,238 (3)	16.7 (3)	8.0 (3)
Z	72,566 (1)	5,353 (1)	17.7 (1)	11.0 (2)

Note. -- Figures in parentheses indicate community rank.

[a] Indicates the rural non-depressed community.

[b] Indicates the affluent suburban community.

[c] Indicates the rural depressed community.

[d] Indicates the typical urban community.

[e] Data in Table A was gathered from Tables 32, 33, and 34 of the U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population. Part 21, Maine. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963.

APPENDIX C

Specimen of Letter to Superintendents, Principals, and Guidance Directors

UNIVERSITY OF MAINE • ORONO, MAINE 04473

College of Education
Education Building
207/866-7294

May 2, 1968

Dear

Professional educational literature and the mass media have lately been focusing extensively upon the problems associated with the existence of a disadvantaged or poverty culture within our affluent society. In September 1967, the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty published a report describing the nature and extent of rural poverty in America. Among other considerations, this report clearly demonstrated the need for more research dealing with rural disadvantaged persons.

Mr. Keith Cook, a doctoral candidate in counseling and guidance in the College of Education, is currently involved in research of this type for his dissertation. In this study he will be investigating differences in the ways in which disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged high school students in rural and urban Maine communities perceive themselves. It is expected that his study will provide further insight into the behavior of disadvantaged persons, and that this will strengthen efforts to facilitate their transcendence of their poverty culture. It is further anticipated that the results of this study will render assistance to educators concerned with the identification and solution of problems, such as low academic achievement and inappropriate school experiences, common to disadvantaged young people.

The major part of the study involves obtaining information, in a few selected schools, concerning the occupation and the educational level of the head of the student's household, and information concerning the student's perceptions of himself. __________ has been selected as being representative of one of four categories of communities to be included in the study. Therefore, Mr. Cook will be contacting you shortly regarding the possible administration of a short individual data sheet and a self rating scale to a total of about 100 students in grades 9, 10 and 11.

I would like to request, on his behalf, any possible assistance you may be able to give him. Obviously the success of an endeavor such as this hinges upon the cooperation of professional educators such as yourself.

Your consideration of this request is very much appreciated.

Cordially yours,

Mark R. Shibles
Dean

MRS/bc

APPENDIX D

Frequency Distributions of Tennessee Self Concept Scale Scores by Community and Social Class

TABLE A

Frequency Distribution of Self Criticism Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
80 - 84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 - 79	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
70 - 74	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0
65 - 69	1	1	0	1	1	7	0	1
60 - 64	1	7	0	16	0	17	1	9
55 - 59	3	9	1	21	1	11	0	6
50 - 54	2	8	3	34	3	23	5	24
45 - 49	6	6	1	21	2	16	8	13
40 - 44	3	3	2	12	1	3	3	10
35 - 39	2	5	2	6	1	2	1	3
30 - 34	2	2	1	3	0	1	2	1
25 - 29	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0
20 - 24	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15 - 19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	24	27	34	26	36	34	32	34
Maximum	66	68	57	78	86	86	64	86
Range	42	41	23	52	50	52	32	52
Standard Deviation	10.58	9.53	7.56	8.49	14.31	8.76	7.22	8.79

TABLE B

Frequency Distribution of True-False Ratio Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	1	1	0	3	0	0	1	0
75 - 79	2	1	0	3	0	1	1	2
70 - 74	2	1	0	4	1	3	1	1
65 - 69	2	7	1	9	1	11	5	5
60 - 64	2	4	2	16	3	10	1	9
55 - 59	3	4	0	21	2	11	1	12
50 - 54	2	2	4	21	1	15	4	11
45 - 49	0	10	1	22	1	18	3	14
40 - 44	3	8	1	5	1	11	1	13
35 - 39	0	3	0	5	0	2	1	2
30 - 34	2	0	1	3	0	0	1	1
25 - 29	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	0
20 - 24	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
15 - 19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	30	29	32	5	44	29	33	34
Maximum	88	81	68	88	71	76	81	77
Range	58	52	36	83	27	47	48	43
Standard Deviation	16.64	12.46	10.28	12.74	8.70	9.53	12.88	9.48

TABLE C

Frequency Distribution of Net Conflict Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 - 79	1	1	0	3	0	0	1	1
70 - 74	4	4	1	7	1	5	2	3
65 - 69	3	2	0	5	0	3	2	1
60 - 64	3	6	1	19	2	17	4	11
55 - 59	3	6	3	30	3	14	2	16
50 - 54	2	5	1	22	2	18	6	16
45 - 49	0	6	2	13	0	10	1	9
40 - 44	2	4	2	11	1	11	1	10
35 - 39	0	3	0	6	0	2	0	1
30 - 34	2	3	0	0	1	2	1	1
25 - 29	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
20 - 24	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
15 - 19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	25	20	40	25	33	29	33	34
Maximum	76	81	70	77	72	74	75	76
Range	51	61	30	52	39	45	42	42
Standard Deviation	15.15	13.42	8.91	9.80	10.86	9.59	10.59	8.45

TABLE D

Frequency Distribution of Total Conflict Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	0
75 - 79	1	1	2	4	1	1	1	1
70 - 74	2	1	0	1	1	5	0	4
65 - 69	5	3	1	10	0	13	4	1
60 - 64	3	5	0	14	0	11	3	9
55 - 59	2	5	1	14	2	10	3	12
50 - 54	5	9	3	32	3	22	1	18
45 - 49	1	9	2	17	2	10	3	9
40 - 44	2	2	1	10	0	7	2	7
35 - 39	0	3	0	11	0	2	2	5
30 - 34	0	0	0	4	0	1	1	2
25 - 29	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
20 - 24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15 - 19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	44	29	44	30	46	31	33	29
Maximum	76	85	75	82	87	83	76	75
Range	32	56	31	52	41	52	43	46
Standard Deviation	9.44	12.50	11.21	10.49	14.35	9.72	11.71	10.22

TABLE E

Frequency Distribution of Total Positive Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 - 79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70 - 74	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
65 - 69	0	2	0	3	1	4	0	2
60 - 64	2	4	0	5	0	2	1	7
55 - 59	3	5	2	18	0	13	2	8
50 - 54	3	5	1	15	3	4	3	11
45 - 49	4	6	2	18	1	11	2	9
40 - 44	6	9	2	17	2	19	3	13
35 - 39	0	9	2	25	2	17	0	13
30 - 34	3	2	1	12	0	7	7	3
25 - 29	0	0	0	3	0	3	2	3
20 - 24	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0
15 - 19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	30	30	33	27	24	20	27	26
Maximum	63	69	56	72	68	66	60	67
Range	33	39	23	45	44	46	33	41
Standard Deviation	9.47	9.92	8.08	10.30	11.98	10.42	10.62	10.02

TABLE F

Frequency Distribution of Identity Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 - 79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70 - 74	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0
65 - 69	2	0	0	4	0	0	0	2
60 - 64	1	4	0	7	0	4	1	5
55 - 59	3	6	1	9	1	7	0	12
50 - 54	4	5	2	26	3	16	3	14
45 - 49	5	12	3	25	1	23	4	12
40 - 44	3	8	2	16	0	7	2	7
35 - 39	1	3	1	11	2	15	5	5
30 - 34	0	1	0	12	2	6	3	8
25 - 29	0	1	1	4	1	4	1	1
20 - 24	2	0	0	2	0	2	1	3
15 - 19	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	24	19	26	21	26	10	14	22
Maximum	67	70	59	73	55	61	61	67
Range	43	51	33	52	29	51	47	45
Standard Deviation	11.72	9.84	9.36	10.43	10.60	10.48	11.66	11.10

TABLE G

Frequency Distribution of Self Satisfaction Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
75 - 79	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
70 - 74	0	3	0	1	1	1	0	3
65 - 69	1	2	0	6	0	6	0	2
60 - 64	2	4	0	9	1	6	2	7
55 - 59	4	5	4	15	2	9	3	10
50 - 54	3	5	1	15	1	10	3	13
45 - 49	4	6	2	13	0	15	2	8
40 - 44	3	10	2	32	3	18	5	10
35 - 39	3	4	0	14	0	6	1	8
30 - 34	1	2	1	11	0	8	3	7
25 - 29	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
20 - 24	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0
15 - 19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	32	32	32	30	23	24	29	28
Maximum	65	75	58	82	79	75	64	74
Range	33	43	26	52	56	51	35	46
Standard Deviation	8.99	11.49	8.56	10.58	16.36	11.32	10.26	10.76

TABLE H

Frequency Distribution of Behavior Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 - 79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70 - 74	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
65 - 69	1	0	1	2	1	2	0	3
60 - 64	0	1	0	7	0	5	0	3
55 - 59	3	7	1	10	0	3	2	6
50 - 54	2	8	0	14	1	5	5	12
45 - 49	2	2	1	16	2	10	1	8
40 - 44	4	5	1	17	2	14	2	11
35 - 39	5	11	3	19	2	13	2	12
30 - 34	3	6	3	25	0	21	3	11
25 - 29	1	2	0	6	0	5	5	1
20 - 24	0	0	0	1	1	5	0	1
15 - 19	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	29	27	31	24	19	21	26	18
Maximum	67	61	66	72	66	66	57	67
Range	38	34	35	48	47	45	31	49
Standard Deviation	10.09	9.94	11.30	10.81	13.27	10.87	11.19	10.71

TABLE I

Frequency Distribution of Physical Self Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 - 79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70 - 74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
65 - 69	2	2	0	1	0	1	0	4
60 - 64	4	5	0	14	3	6	0	7
55 - 59	4	3	1	14	0	10	3	10
50 - 54	4	10	1	23	1	11	3	11
45 - 49	2	8	0	21	4	15	1	4
40 - 44	3	7	4	25	1	21	3	16
35 - 39	2	4	4	8	0	9	4	12
30 - 34	0	3	0	9	0	6	3	4
25 - 29	0	0	0	2	0	2	3	0
20 - 24	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
15 - 19	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	36	32	36	19	22	19	27	22
Maximum	65	69	55	68	62	67	58	69
Range	29	37	19	49	40	48	31	47
Standard Deviation	9.12	9.06	6.27	9.12	11.92	9.32	9.64	10.02

TABLE J

Frequency Distribution of Moral-Ethical Self Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 - 79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70 - 74	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
65 - 69	1	1	0	2	1	1	1	3
60 - 64	0	5	0	11	0	7	0	4
55 - 59	4	3	2	9	1	12	0	12
50 - 54	1	6	2	12	0	7	3	4
45 - 49	6	9	1	13	2	7	4	18
40 - 44	1	5	2	10	2	13	1	9
35 - 39	4	7	2	42	2	19	4	12
30 - 34	2	4	1	9	1	7	2	4
25 - 29	2	2	0	3	1	5	2	2
20 - 24	0	0	0	4	0	2	3	0
15 - 19	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	27	28	34	16	28	8	22	13
Maximum	68	68	55	72	68	66	66	69
Range	41	40	21	56	40	58	44	56
Standard Deviation	10.68	10.70	8.39	11.52	11.71	12.35	11.91	10.46

TABLE K

Frequency Distribution of Personal Self Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 - 79	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
70 - 74	1	0	0	3	0	3	0	0
65 - 69	0	2	0	3	1	2	1	5
60 - 64	2	6	1	12	0	7	1	8
55 - 59	2	8	1	13	2	6	4	13
50 - 54	2	5	3	18	1	10	3	9
45 - 49	7	6	2	12	1	15	2	9
40 - 44	5	10	2	29	3	11	3	7
35 - 39	1	3	1	10	0	16	1	9
30 - 34	1	2	0	10	1	5	5	5
25 - 29	0	0	0	6	0	5	0	2
20 - 24	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	2
15 - 19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	31	33	36	25	20	20	30	23
Maximum	70	68	60	79	68	71	66	69
Range	39	35	24	54	48	51	36	46
Standard Deviation	9.23	9.29	7.44	11.53	13.46	11.90	10.98	11.78

TABLE L

Frequency Distribution of Family Self Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 - 79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70 - 74	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
65 - 69	0	3	1	2	0	2	0	0
60 - 64	2	4	1	8	0	2	0	4
55 - 59	2	5	1	15	0	8	2	8
50 - 54	3	6	1	20	4	16	4	11
45 - 49	6	5	2	19	1	14	4	12
40 - 44	4	6	0	18	1	13	3	10
35 - 39	1	5	2	11	2	9	2	8
30 - 34	1	4	0	14	0	7	4	6
25 - 29	0	3	2	4	1	6	0	5
20 - 24	1	1	0	5	0	2	1	2
15 - 19	1	0	0	2	0	3	0	2
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	19	24	27	17	25	15	22	15
Maximum	64	68	68	68	70	72	59	70
Range	45	44	41	51	45	57	37	55
Standard Deviation	11.17	12.01	13.88	11.64	12.29	12.08	9.96	11.75

TABLE M

Frequency Distribution of Social Self Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 - 79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
70 - 74	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0
65 - 69	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	3
60 - 64	1	1	1	13	0	7	2	5
55 - 59	4	6	2	21	1	5	3	14
50 - 54	4	5	1	17	1	14	2	6
45 - 49	1	10	0	22	3	19	1	14
40 - 44	5	8	1	12	1	13	1	6
35 - 39	4	8	4	20	1	11	7	14
30 - 34	1	2	1	7	2	5	2	6
25 - 29	1	0	0	4	1	3	2	0
20 - 24	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
15 - 19	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	28	30	34	26	27	17	26	30
Maximum	60	73	64	73	58	69	62	79
Range	32	43	30	47	31	52	36	49
Standard Deviation	9.07	9.13	10.96	10.02	9.68	10.67	11.28	10.30

TABLE N

Frequency Distribution of Total Variability Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 - 79	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
70 - 74	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	3
65 - 69	2	3	1	10	1	7	1	7
60 - 64	2	7	0	8	0	15	2	11
55 - 59	5	5	3	21	2	23	2	10
50 - 54	4	6	0	23	2	10	4	10
45 - 49	5	8	2	21	1	8	5	10
40 - 44	0	11	3	20	1	7	2	8
35 - 39	1	0	1	11	1	5	1	5
30 - 34	1	1	0	1	1	5	1	5
25 - 29	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
20 - 24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15 - 19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 - 14	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	26	14	35	34	32	14	27	31
Maximum	66	68	67	75	75	73	66	73
Range	40	54	32	41	43	59	39	42
Standard Deviation	10.21	10.53	9.68	9.39	13.50	10.91	10.77	10.89

TABLE O

Frequency Distribution of Column Variability Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 - 79	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
70 - 74	1	1	1	3	0	3	1	4
65 - 69	1	4	0	6	1	4	0	7
60 - 64	1	6	1	14	1	10	2	7
55 - 59	5	4	2	15	2	25	3	12
50 - 54	5	7	0	22	1	15	4	10
45 - 49	2	7	2	19	1	6	3	5
40 - 44	3	4	1	14	1	6	2	11
35 - 39	1	7	2	22	1	10	2	10
30 - 34	0	1	1	2	0	4	3	3
25 - 29	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
20 - 24	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15 - 19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	21	34	34	30	29	30	30	31
Maximum	71	80	72	78	76	71	71	73
Range	50	46	38	48	47	41	41	42
Standard Deviation	11.88	11.08	11.74	10.04	13.98	9.99	10.91	11.32

TABLE P

Frequency Distribution of Row Variability Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
75 - 79	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	0
70 - 74	0	0	0	3	1	3	0	4
65 - 69	1	1	0	3	0	3	0	5
60 - 64	2	4	1	15	0	15	1	11
55 - 59	3	5	0	12	2	12	3	7
50 - 54	7	11	4	26	0	17	4	9
45 - 49	4	8	2	22	3	18	5	12
40 - 44	2	7	3	16	1	4	2	6
35 - 39	1	4	0	13	2	5	3	8
30 - 34	1	1	0	5	0	2	0	4
25 - 29	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	2
20 - 24	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
15 - 19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	34	31	41	29	29	25	23	5
Maximum	66	77	60	79	71	81	60	74
Range	32	46	19	50	42	56	37	69
Standard Deviation	8.38	9.26	5.80	10.15	12.03	10.74	10.36	12.63

TABLE Q

Frequency Distribution of Distribution Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
75 - 79	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0
70 - 74	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
65 - 69	1	4	0	4	0	4	0	3
60 - 64	0	3	2	14	1	6	2	5
55 - 59	2	5	2	13	2	11	2	12
50 - 54	6	7	0	17	1	17	2	14
45 - 49	7	5	1	16	1	19	3	8
40 - 44	0	8	3	25	1	13	1	13
35 - 39	3	5	1	17	2	6	3	4
30 - 34	1	4	0	7	1	4	5	6
25 - 29	0	0	0	1	0	2	2	1
20 - 24	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0
15 - 19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	33	32	21	20	33	26	29	26
Maximum	71	76	64	75	79	72	60	82
Range	38	44	43	55	46	46	31	56
Standard Deviation	9.38	10.95	12.79	10.71	13.53	9.36	10.86	11.16

TABLE R

Frequency Distribution of Distribution of Fives Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
75 - 79	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	1
70 - 74	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	3
65 - 69	1	2	1	10	0	8	0	3
60 - 64	3	5	3	16	2	10	2	12
55 - 59	2	6	0	13	0	10	5	4
50 - 54	1	7	1	13	1	17	0	10
45 - 49	7	7	1	25	1	13	3	15
40 - 44	3	7	4	23	1	14	6	13
35 - 39	2	3	0	9	4	5	4	4
30 - 34	0	1	0	3	0	2	0	2
25 - 29	0	1	0	5	0	0	0	1
20 - 24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15 - 19	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	36	29	40	10	36	19	36	25
Maximum	76	75	66	69	84	77	64	80
Range	40	46	26	59	48	58	28	55
Standard Deviation	10.74	10.96	10.24	10.85	15.46	10.96	9.24	11.33

TABLE S

Frequency Distribution of Distribution of Fours Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 59	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
75 - 79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70 - 74	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0
65 - 69	2	1	0	6	2	4	0	1
60 - 64	1	1	0	10	2	11	3	8
55 - 59	2	9	2	20	0	16	2	10
50 - 54	4	6	1	15	1	10	5	15
45 - 49	2	5	1	16	0	10	4	9
40 - 44	5	9	1	23	2	8	3	9
35 - 39	3	4	2	7	0	15	0	4
30 - 34	2	3	2	5	1	9	3	9
25 - 29	0	2	0	4	1	0	0	3
20 - 24	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
15 - 19	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	32	16	23	26	25	0	30	16
Maximum	69	70	57	80	71	66	62	69
Range	37	54	34	54	46	36	32	53
Standard Deviation	10.59	11.31	11.21	10.56	15.93	10.69	9.73	11.09

TABLE T

Frequency Distribution of *Distribution of Threes* Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
75 - 79	0	0	0	4	0	0	2	0
70 - 74	2	2	0	4	0	3	3	3
65 - 69	3	6	1	11	1	6	1	6
60 - 64	4	6	1	11	1	10	4	7
55 - 59	1	6	1	20	2	11	2	11
50 - 54	4	7	5	31	2	27	4	14
45 - 49	2	4	0	12	1	12	3	13
40 - 44	4	9	1	10	2	8	1	6
35 - 39	1	2	0	13	0	6	0	7
30 - 34	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
25 - 29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20 - 24	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
15 - 19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	36	36	42	20	30	35	44	30
Maximum	71	74	85	82	67	73	76	72
Range	35	38	43	62	37	38	32	42
Standard Deviation	10.98	10.30	12.04	10.90	10.73	8.74	10.35	10.06

TABLE U

Frequency Distribution of Distribution of Twos Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 - 79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70 - 74	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0
65 - 69	0	1	0	3	0	3	0	0
60 - 64	0	3	0	5	0	1	1	7
55 - 59	1	1	1	16	1	9	1	10
50 - 54	2	13	2	29	2	17	6	16
45 - 49	6	2	1	19	2	17	5	5
40 - 44	2	9	2	14	1	19	2	17
35 - 39	8	8	3	25	2	13	4	9
30 - 34	1	2	1	5	2	4	0	4
25 - 29	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	1
20 - 24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15 - 19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	27	27	31	30	31	31	35	25
Maximum	57	65	55	74	57	68	71	64
Range	30	38	24	44	26	37	36	39
Standard Deviation	7.76	9.89	8.00	8.89	8.48	7.80	8.88	9.26

TABLE V

Frequency Distribution of Distribution of Ones Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 - 79	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	1
70 - 74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
65 - 69	0	2	1	3	1	1	1	2
60 - 64	2	4	1	6	1	7	1	8
55 - 59	3	4	1	14	1	10	1	4
50 - 54	6	5	2	17	2	19	3	12
45 - 49	7	12	2	24	1	17	2	17
40 - 44	1	3	1	15	2	12	3	12
35 - 39	1	5	1	16	1	10	2	4
30 - 34	1	4	1	10	1	5	0	3
25 - 29	0	1	0	8	0	1	6	4
20 - 24	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	1
15 - 19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	31	29	31	23	31	12	23	23
Maximum	64	76	65	77	68	67	66	75
Range	33	47	34	54	37	55	43	52
Standard Deviation	7.68	11.22	10.91	11.04	11.71	9.46	13.00	10.75

TABLE W

Frequency Distribution of Defensive Positive Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
75 - 79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70 - 74	2	2	0	1	0	1	1	0
65 - 69	3	2	0	2	1	3	2	2
60 - 64	1	4	1	8	1	7	0	9
55 - 59	2	3	2	20	0	7	3	8
50 - 54	7	12	3	21	5	18	4	15
45 - 49	3	6	2	22	1	7	2	9
40 - 44	3	7	2	31	0	22	8	14
35 - 39	0	6	0	9	1	11	0	8
30 - 34	0	0	0	3	1	4	0	4
25 - 29	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
20 - 24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15 - 19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	41	35	41	32	32	25	40	30
Maximum	74	74	60	80	66	71	73	69
Range	33	39	19	48	34	46	33	39
Standard Deviation	9.63	10.05	6.36	8.74	10.30	9.91	9.93	9.44

TABLE X

Frequency Distribution of General Maladjustment Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
80 - 84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 - 79	1	0	0	5	2	3	3	2
70 - 74	2	2	1	3	0	4	0	4
65 - 69	1	6	0	19	2	10	6	6
60 - 64	3	10	5	30	1	26	4	16
55 - 59	6	5	1	12	3	12	0	16
50 - 54	4	4	1	14	1	14	3	12
45 - 49	1	10	1	21	0	8	1	5
40 - 44	3	4	1	8	0	2	3	5
35 - 39	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	1
30 - 34	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	2
25 - 29	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
20 - 24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15 - 19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	40	39	42	28	39	30	40	30
Maximum	78	71	72	78	78	86	77	78
Range	38	32	30	50	39	56	37	48
Standard Deviation	9.50	9.23	8.86	10.46	11.20	9.84	11.71	9.79

TABLE Y

Frequency Distribution of Psychosis Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 - 79	2	1	2	1	0	2	0	1
70 - 74	2	4	0	6	1	4	2	2
65 - 69	4	2	0	9	0	5	4	1
60 - 64	3	4	2	13	1	11	2	15
55 - 59	4	9	1	20	4	16	7	12
50 - 54	2	7	1	18	1	14	3	12
45 - 49	1	7	2	26	3	14	2	15
40 - 44	3	2	1	10	0	13	0	8
35 - 39	0	4	1	9	0	3	0	1
30 - 34	0	2	0	6	0	1	0	2
25 - 29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20 - 24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15 - 19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	41	32	39	30	46	34	46	30
Maximum	75	78	78	77	70	77	72	78
Range	34	46	39	47	24	43	26	48
Standard Deviation	10.44	10.92	13.14	10.50	7.38	9.70	7.57	8.91

TABLE Z

Frequency Distribution of Personality Disorder Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1
80 - 84	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
75 - 79	0	0	0	1	0	3	2	1
70 - 74	1	4	0	13	2	7	3	2
65 - 69	4	6	0	19	1	10	5	4
60 - 64	2	9	3	19	2	19	1	14
55 - 59	3	4	2	14	2	9	2	12
50 - 54	7	5	3	22	1	12	3	16
45 - 49	2	8	1	18	1	11	3	11
40 - 44	2	3	1	8	0	9	1	5
35 - 39	0	3	0	3	1	0	0	3
30 - 34	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
25 - 29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20 - 24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15 - 19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	41	35	44	32	36	41	40	36
Maximum	72	73	64	79	74	85	78	85
Range	31	38	20	47	38	44	38	49
Standard Deviation	8.42	10.22	7.12	9.91	11.46	10.79	10.96	9.38

TABLE AA

Frequency Distribution of Neurosis Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 - 79	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0
70 - 74	0	1	0	2	0	4	1	1
65 - 69	1	1	1	11	0	7	2	9
60 - 64	2	7	1	10	0	11	5	6
55 - 59	1	7	2	30	2	23	2	14
50 - 54	6	8	3	12	1	8	2	4
45 - 49	6	9	2	26	4	19	8	22
40 - 44	2	7	1	13	0	5	0	7
35 - 39	1	1	0	9	1	5	0	6
30 - 34	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	0
25 - 29	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
20 - 24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15 - 19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	31	30	44	29	34	36	45	35
Maximum	66	71	66	75	79	76	73	71
Range	35	41	22	46	45	40	28	36
Standard Deviation	9.10	8.94	6.59	9.66	12.49	9.22	8.76	9.20

TABLE BB

Frequency Distribution of Personality Integration Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
75 - 79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
70 - 74	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
65 - 69	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
60 - 64	0	1	0	10	0	3	1	2
55 - 59	4	7	2	17	2	9	3	9
50 - 54	3	8	0	12	1	7	1	6
45 - 49	4	6	2	27	1	20	4	12
40 - 44	3	9	2	24	2	17	4	16
35 - 39	5	5	2	18	1	8	3	11
30 - 34	0	2	1	5	0	8	1	5
25 - 29	1	1	0	4	0	6	1	2
20 - 24	1	2	1	0	2	2	2	2
15 - 19	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	23	23	23	17	23	17	23	23
Maximum	59	66	57	63	66	73	61	84
Range	36	43	34	46	43	56	38	61
Standard Deviation	9.94	9.83	10.46	9.09	14.37	10.76	10.86	11.40

TABLE CC

Frequency Distribution of Number of Deviant Signs Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Four Types of Communities.

T - Score Interval	Frequency by Community and Social Class							
	Rural Depressed		Typical Urban		Affluent Suburban		Rural Non-Depressed	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	1	1	0	3	0	4	3	3
75 - 79	1	3	2	5	0	4	1	0
70 - 74	6	1	1	9	1	5	1	6
65 - 69	3	8	1	20	2	16	7	9
60 - 64	2	3	1	20	2	17	2	20
55 - 59	2	10	2	21	2	9	2	7
50 - 54	4	7	1	19	1	17	3	12
45 - 49	2	7	2	16	2	9	0	5
40 - 44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
35 - 39	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
30 - 34	0	1	0	4	0	2	0	5
25 - 29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20 - 24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15 - 19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total f	21	42	10	118	10	83	20	69
Minimum	47	34	47	34	47	34	5	5
Maximum	84	87	78	86	67	84	82	81
Range	37	53	31	52	20	50	77	76
Standard Deviation	10.22	10.63	11.29	10.28	7.44	10.08	16.22	12.48

APPENDIX E

Frequency Distributions of TSCS Total Positive Scores by Social Class and Sex, and by Social Class and Grade in School

TABLE A

Frequency Distribution of Total Positive Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Male and Female Subjects.

T-Score Interval	Frequency by Sex and Social Class			
	Male		Female	
	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	0	0	0
75 - 79	0	0	0	0
70 - 74	0	1	0	1
65 - 69	0	3	1	8
60 - 64	0	5	3	13
55 - 59	2	19	5	25
50 - 54	5	17	5	18
45 - 49	4	18	5	26
40 - 44	7	22	6	36
35 - 39	2	32	2	32
30 - 34	5	8	6	16
25 - 29	1	2	1	7
20 - 24	0	0	1	3
15 - 19	0	0	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0
Total f	26	127	35	185
Column Mean	43.62	45.71	45.66	45.66
Minimum	27	27	24	20
Maximum	59	72	68	71
Range	32	45	44	51
Standard Deviation	8.48	9.44	11.20	10.78
Mean for Sex	45.35		45.66	

TABLE B

Frequency Distribution of Total Positive Scores of Disadvantaged and Non-Disadvantaged Subjects Within Grades Nine, Ten, and Eleven.

T-Score Interval	Frequency by Grade and Social Class					
	Grade 9		Grade 10		Grade 11	
	D	ND	D	ND	D	ND
85 - 89	0	0	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 - 79	0	0	0	0	0	0
70 - 74	0	1	0	0	0	1
65 - 69	1	3	0	1	0	7
60 - 64	1	6	1	9	1	3
55 - 59	2	8	3	20	2	16
50 - 54	7	14	2	8	1	13
45 - 49	2	17	7	10	0	17
40 - 44	5	16	7	21	1	21
35 - 39	1	22	3	15	0	27
30 - 34	5	7	4	10	2	7
25 - 29	1	7	1	0	0	2
20 - 24	1	1	0	1	0	1
15 - 19	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total f	26	102	28	95	7	115
Column Mean	44.92	44.76	43.96	46.40	47.57	45.90
Minimum	24	23	27	24	31	20
Maximum	68	72	63	69	60	71
Range	44	49	36	45	29	51
Standard Deviation	11.20	10.36	8.61	10.02	12.31	10.35

APPENDIX F

Raw Data Collected on Each Student

Each line of printout in this appendix contains, in coded form, all data collected on each student used in this study. The data is presented here with the thought that some readers may wish to perform alternative or additional analyses, As the relatively large N used makes hand calculations quite laborious, the writer will be pleased to consider requests for duplicate sets of the punched data cards used in this investigation.

For the reader who prefers to work with the data as herein presented, which was printed directly from the IBM cards, the following key is provided:

Key to Punch Card Data

Column Numbers	Information
1-3	Student Number
4-5	School Name
6-7	Community 01 = Rural depressed 02 = Typical urban 03 = Affluent suburban 04 = Rural non-depressed
8	Sex 1 = Male 2 = Female
9-10	Grade in School
11	Social Class 1 = Disadvantaged 2 = Non-disadvantaged
12	Years of Schooling (major wage-earner) 1 = <7 3 = 10,11 2 = 7,8,9 4 = 12+
	Tennessee Self Concept Scale Scores
13-14	Self Criticism

15-16	True-False Ratio
17-18	Net Conflict
19-20	Total Conflict
21-22	Total Positive
23-24	Identity
25-26	Self-Satisfaction
27-28	Behavior
29-30	Physical Self
31-32	Moral-Ethical Self
33-34	Personal Self
35-36	Family Self
37-38	Social Self
39-40	Total Variability
41-42	Column Total Variability
43-44	Row Total Variability
45-46	Distribution Score
47-48	Distribution of 5's
49-50	Distribution of 4's
51-52	Distribution of 3's
53-54	Distribution of 2's
55-56	Distribution of 1's
57-58	Defensive Positive
59-60	General Maladjustment
61-62	Psychosis
63-64	Personality Disorder
65-66	Neurosis
67-68	Personality Integration

69-70 Number Deviant Signs

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BIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITER

Keith Emery Cook was born in Waterville, Maine on September 29, 1939, to Carleton and Winona Cook. He received his early education in Fairfield, Maine, and was graduated from Lawrence High School in 1956. He entered the University of Maine in September, 1956, and received a Bachelor of Science degree in Education (Sience and Mathematics) in June, 1961.

Following graduation he was employed as a science teacher and athletic coach at Mt. Greylock Regional High School in Williamstown, Massachusetts.

In 1963, he was married to Marcia Anora Fuller. In September of the same year, he was enrolled for graduate study at the University of Maine, and received a Master of Education degree in Counseling and Guidance in August, 1964.

For the two years commencing in September, 1964, he was employed as guidance counselor at Mattanawcook Academy in Lincoln, Maine. During the summer of 1965 he attended the NDEA Guidance Institute at the University of Maine.

In September, 1966, he was enrolled for doctoral study at the University of Maine, and, as a graduate assistant, taught in the College of Education. He is a member of the American Personnel and Guidance Association, National Vocational Guidance Association, and American School Counselor Association. He is a candidate for the Doctor of Education degree in Counseling and Guidance from the University of Maine in August, 1969.